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A Study of the Channels of Communication Used by One Hundred Negroes in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Fred Tewell

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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AUTHOR: Fred Tewell, Ph. D., 1956
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A STUDY OF THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY ONE
HUNDRED NEGROES IN BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

Fred Tewell

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploratory investigation of the channels of communication used by 100 Negroes in urban Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This research project sought to discover through personal interview the various media of communication by which the informants obtained their information. In addition, it sought to discover the frequency of usage and to determine variations of usage at various educational levels. The local media of communication considered include the one Negro and two white newspapers, the one Negro and four white radio stations, the Negro churches, and the Negro social, professional, and service organizations. Other sources include out-of-town radio stations, state and national white and Negro newspapers, and magazines.

The interview schedule, employed to obtain information concerning the various media, was divided into four parts: biographical data, organizational affiliations, information sources, and general information questions. After pertinent biographical information had been obtained, the respondent was asked to name the organizations to which he belonged, to indicate what newspapers,

magazines, and books he read, and to list the radio and television stations to which he listened. Some of these oral and written channels were analyzed thematically. The last section of the interview schedule consisted of eight questions about current topics designed to get further information about media used.

The study reveals that the majority of the information carried by the Negro newspapers and magazines falls under two general categories of sensationalism and of ego-building. Through stressing these themes these Negro publications attempt to attract attention, to increase circulation among Negroes, and to promote race pride. Local white radio stations seemed to plan their programs with little or no consideration for the specific interests of the Negro listener; while WXOK, the Negro radio station, attempted to appeal primarily to the Negro listener. The Negro church was one of the most important oral channels of communication since it reached 94 per cent of the Negroes interviewed and it was the only organizational affiliation of the large majority. Nearly all of those who were active in community and professional organizations were from the higher educational categories.

The use of channels of communication varied according to educational level. Those in the lowest educational categories relied almost exclusively on oral channels

while those in the highest educational categories used written more than oral channels. The 100 Negroes interviewed seemed to be better informed about subjects which had been emphasized through Negro channels of communication such as Negro newspapers, magazines, and churches.

The evidence shows that information which eventually reached the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes passed through many filter points such as ministers, editors, and public speakers, making it virtually impossible for the receivers to get uninterrupted and unshaded messages from the original source. The exclusively Negro channels which carried information of primary importance to these respondents seemed to be more intent in their crusade for the "Negro cause" than in presenting a comprehensive coverage of news events.

The data seems to indicate that if one wanted to get information to the Negroes studied, he would have to employ a combination of channels including radio station WXOK, the State Times (Baton Rouge white daily) and News Leader (Baton Rouge Negro weekly) newspapers, and the Negro churches. Therefore, even though the same message started from the same source and passed along each of these four channels, it is not likely that it would be the same when it reached its destination.

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CHAPTER I
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY
Significance of the Study

In the United States today the Negro, who, for many years has been handicapped by limited educational opportunities, low income, and a low social status, is striving for an equal place in society. Even after he gained his freedom from slavery, the Negro did not assume an active role in his community but since World War II the Negro has been recognized as an integral part of his community in the South as well as in the North. An increasing number of Negroes are registering as voters in the southern states. In the last decade and a half in the South, modern schools, recently constructed, have promoted a more enlightened populace in rural as well as urban communities.

Service in the Armed Forces, like the improved public school system, has changed the attitude and ambitions of many of the younger Negroes. White community leaders have recognized the necessity for consulting these people on certain problems affecting all groups. Not only does the Negro want to participate in community affairs, but he is capable of contributing to the solution of many community problems.

Along with the increase in the number of Negro public schools in the southern community has come an increase in the number of college-trained Negroes in the community. An equalized pay scale for teachers has tended to increase the number of teachers with undergraduate and graduate degrees.

If the Negro is to assume an active role in the community, he must be adequately informed; he must have ways of finding out what is taking place in the community and of making known his desires to the community leaders. Without proper channels, either Negroes will have little or no information or will have distorted information which will hamper their participation in community affairs.

The Problem

The purpose of this research is to study the channels of communication used by the Negroes in a single community, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This exploratory study attempts to discover: (1) the channels of communication, written and oral, used by the Negroes, (2) the channels of communication used most frequently, (3) the difference, if any, in the use of the channels of communication at the different educational levels, (4) the attitudes of the Negroes regarding their channels of communication, and (5) any possible trends in their habits of seeking information. The study is limited to one hundred Negroes twenty-five years old

and older, who were interviewed during June, July, and August, 1955.

This study attempts to explore the means of transmitting messages from source to receiver or receivers in an urban community. In particular, this research project seeks to discover the means by which 100 Negroes in an urban community obtain information with no attempt to analyze the effect of this information.

Media of Communication

The media of communication considered in this study include: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, public speeches of all kinds, sermons, and hearsay. Some of these are media of mass communication while others, such as hearsay, may involve as few as two persons, the sender and receiver. Information may be acquired while the person is a member of an audience listening to a sermon or other type of speech or may be obtained within his primary group. John F. Cuber in defining a group as "any number of human beings in reciprocal communication"¹ says that "communication creates the group, ... communication need not be face-to-face by 'word of mouth'; it may be indirect through such instruments as the telegraph. Persons need not 'know each other personally' in order to be in communication; they

¹John F. Cuber, Sociology A Synopsis of Principles, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 307.

merely need to contact one another via language, oral or written or gestural."² Of most importance to the individual is his primary group memberships, that is, groups of persons with whom he has regular intimate face-to-face associations. Those with whom he has such associations may include the family, work group, recreational group, or even a street corner group. All kinds of information may be originated or passed along by the members of these groups. Such group interaction is an important source of attitude formation.

Recent technological developments have increased the importance of the media of mass communication. With radios in the majority of homes and television viewers increasing rapidly, people no longer need to depend entirely on local sources for their information. It should be borne in mind, however, that the availability of the media of mass communication does not insure the receiver that he is getting the information from the original source. These mass media are not sources but simply channels along which communication flows.

The focus of this study is upon the process of communication. There are nearly as many definitions of communication

²Ibid., p. 307.

as there are writers on the subject. Carl Hovland offers "as a working definition that communication is the process by which an individual or a group (communicator or communicators) transmit cues, predominately verbal, to modify the behavior of another individual or group (communicable or communicatees)."³ Henry Pratt Fairchild defines communication in the following manner:

The process of making common or exchanging subjective studies such as ideas, sentiments, beliefs, usually by means of language, though also visual representations, imitations, and suggestions ... communication in human groups becomes the chief factor in their unity and continuity and the vehicle of culture.... Good communication is the very basis of human society.⁴

Warren Weaver in an article entitled, "The Mathematics of Communications," uses "communication" to include "all of the procedures by which one mind can affect another."⁵

Noel Gist says that, "when social interaction involves the transmission of meanings through the use of symbols, it is known as communication."⁶ According to Eugene and Ruth

³Carl I. Hovland, "Psychology of the Communication Process," in Communications in Modern Society, by Wilbur Schramm. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1948), p. 59.

⁴H. P. Fairchild, (Ed.): Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1944), p. 50.

⁵Scientific American, Vol. 181 (1949), p. 11.

⁶Noel Gist, in S. Eldridge (Ed.): Fundamentals of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950), p. 363.

Hartley, the following four factors are common to all definitions:

(1) the communicator - the person who initiates the process; (2) the communicant, that is, the recipient; (3) the content of the communication - this might be called the communique; and (4) the effect achieved by the communication. Implicit in all definitions are the concepts of interaction and effect.⁷

Important in the communication process are the channels along which the communiques flow from communicator or communicators to communicant or communicants. These paths along which information flows may be clear and unobstructed from the origin to the receiver. However, the channels may have many sub-stations through which messages pass before they reach the communicant. These sub-stations serve as filter points in which the messages often undergo changes in ideational or emotional content. In fact, one of these sub-stations may be a receiver who in turn communicates with someone else. Much can happen to the information at these filter points: part of it may be deleted; additions may be made to it; or its meaning may be changed. The filter points important to this study include Negro ministers, news commentators, white and Negro editors, Negro leaders, employers, and fellow workers, both white and Negro.

⁷Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 27.

Not only do these filter points affect communication but they often set up barriers which interfere with the free flow of communication and at times redirect the flow. Hartley and Hartley divided these barriers into three general groups; attitudinal barriers, conceptual barriers, and social barriers.

In considering the attitudinal barriers, it is important to remember that attitudes are learned and do not necessarily develop from some kind of experience. For example, E. L. Horowitz discovered that, "Attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes."⁸ Hartley and Hartley report this piece of research as follows:

In one of the research studies conducted by the authors, some Southern children were asked why they would not play with Negro children. The youngest subjects, who were in the first and second grades, responded naively that the Negro children were nasty or dirty or might hit them, and that "their mothers had told them so." By the time they had reached the seventh or eighth grade, although they were saying virtually the same things, they had "forgotten" the sources of these attitudes and claimed that they had always thought as they did because it was obviously so.⁹

⁸Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), p. 220.

⁹Hartley, op. cit., p. 152.

During World War II, for instance, Americans assumed an unfavorable attitude toward Japanese although few Americans had had any direct contact with them.

The attitudinal barriers are sometimes divided into two groups, namely; (1) "private" or "personal" and (2) "social" or "cultural." Experiments in perception have showed that whatever seems to be disagreeable to the person or fails to gratify him will be rejected while those ideas that prove gratifying will be accepted.

"Personal" and "cultural" attitudes often have intricate interrelationships. For example, although prejudice against ethnic groups is part of the mores of this country, individuals who show extreme degrees of such prejudice also show a general pattern of personality attributes which suggest that the prejudice serves a personal function for the individual and is not purely a matter of conformity to a social norm.¹⁰ In this study prejudice is important not only because it is a barrier to communication between two racial groups in the community but because in many instances it hampers communication within the racial group itself. Some of the members of the group studied seemed to attempt to create a higher position for themselves by being prejudiced against certain members of their own race and by refusing to communicate or have any dealings with them.

¹⁰Hartley, op. cit., p. 137.

Among the "cultural" barriers encountered in this study were sex and age differences. In many cases Negro women had to work if the family were to have even the bare necessities. In cases where she could not work, the Negro woman usually was confined to the home with a large family or might have the responsibility of caring for two or three families while other women worked. In either instance her experiences were likely to be different enough from those of men to create a barrier to communication. The experiences of the different age levels varied considerably among Negroes. Because of the recent improvements of the Negro schools, the educational experiences of the old and the young in the group studied were different. Some of the older Negroes seemed to want to "keep quiet" and leave things the way they were; they became disturbed over the attitude of the young ones; they expressed a dislike, for instance, for what the young ones had done to the Negro spirituals. Such differences create barriers which involve emotional reactions that are not easily overcome so communication can flow smoothly.

"Conceptual" barriers refer to "those factors in living which impose meanings on symbols in such a way as to impede the free exchange of ideas."¹¹ For example, what does the

¹¹Ibid., p. 140.

term "home" mean to the Negroes in this study? To some of them it means a nice brick structure where they have all of life's comforts. To others it means a crowded unkempt structure where ten or fifteen children and adults must eat, sleep, and get most of what little recreation they have. To most Negro men, home is a place where they eat once or twice a day and try to rest after a long day of the lowest kind of labor for which they receive little pay. Therefore, when these Negroes hear someone on the radio talk about the importance of the American home, the meaning will certainly vary for each of these groups. "Conceptual" barriers must be reckoned with because they shade the meanings of symbols used in communication.

Social class organization is a barrier to communication. Many of our concepts are class patterned. Our different classes have, for instance, varied conceptions of religion, money, sex, and education. In analyzing the religious affiliations of the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes, it will be noted later that the majority of the best educated Negroes attend downtown churches, such as Mount Zion Baptist Church, and that none of them belong to the small radical protestant denominations. On the other hand, some of the less educated indicated that they would feel out of place in the downtown churches and would probably not understand the sermons. Many of the Negroes in the lower educational categories said that they liked the "old time

preachin'" and those who had ministers who did more "teachin' than preachin'" said that they "did not understand what was goin' on." The members of any of the groups studied seemed to be able to communicate with the members of their own group but seemed to have difficulty communicating with members of other groups. The same conditions that facilitate communication within a social group may hamper communication between the members of two different groups. Adjacent social groups find it easier to communicate because of similar and interrelated experiences while groups farther apart find it increasingly more difficult to communicate adequately.¹²

Method of Investigation Used

The personal interview was employed to gather the data because it brought the researcher into personal contact with each member of the sample. How the informant answered, as well as what he said, was important, and this could be determined best in a face to face meeting. The personal interview enabled the researcher to adapt his line of questioning to each respondent so that responses could be obtained no matter what the educational background of the interviewee. Questions in the interview schedule could be

¹²Ibid., p. 149.

reworded or additional questions asked as the situation demanded it. The personal interview, then, enabled the investigator to meet problems encountered in the individual interviews more adequately.

The Interview Schedule (See Appendix) is divided into four parts. The first part is designed to get certain pertinent biographical information. Part Two surveys the organizational affiliations of the interviewees. Part Three asks for the channels used by the informants and tries to determine how these channels were used. Part Four attempts to find out what channels were employed to secure the information used to answer eight questions about topics currently in the news. These questions were so designed that no matter what the educational, economic, or social background of the individual, his responses could be significant to the study.

The interview schedule was carefully tested before beginning the field work.¹³ The author discussed the first draft of the interview schedule with colleagues and graduate advisors. In light of their suggestions the schedule was revised. After interviewing a small sample of

¹³Suggestions from Mildred B. Parten's book were helpful in the design of this schedule: Surveys, Polls, and Samples: Practical Procedures (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

Negroes, the author made a second revision incorporating some new features and eliminating questions which seemed to contribute little or nothing to the study. This revision was tried on another small sample. Following these interviews, a third and final revision was made.

The interviewer encountered little difficulty in gaining an audience with a prospective respondent. The interviewer approached each respondent by saying that he was from Louisiana State University and was conducting a survey and would like to talk with him a few minutes. This brief introduction usually brought the question, "What is it about?" In layman's terms the researcher pointed out that he was trying to find out what newspapers and magazines the Negroes in Baton Rouge read and what radio programs they listen to. In most instances this brief explanation brought an invitation to come into the house or sit on the porch. The investigator then gave a more detailed explanation of the study which always included the information that the researcher was a graduate student at Louisiana State University, that he was making the study as part of his school work, and that he was not working for any particular group or organization.

Before beginning the interview itself, the researcher assured the respondent that information given would be held

in strictest confidence and that no names would be used in the study. While asking biographical questions, the interviewer usually tried to find a topic about which he could talk informally with the respondent. Sometimes this informal conversation came in connection with the length of residence, the amount of education, the type of occupation, and sometimes while getting information about church affiliation. For example, one respondent seemed embarrassed when he answered that he had completed only two years of schooling. After a brief informal talk about educational opportunities when he was young, the informant seemed more at ease and cooperated willingly during the interview.

The amount of time for each interview varied. Each informant was given as much time as seemed necessary for him to answer all of the questions but still not inconvenience or tire him to the extent that he might answer hastily or say, "I don't know." The interviews averaged about forty-five minutes in length with no interview taking over one and one-half hours.

Most of the data were recorded as the informant gave them. However, when someone seemed apprehensive, few notes were taken until after the interview. After leaving the residence the interviewer recorded the information from memory. Also after each interview, the researcher took

time to fill in additional material and to make a few comments under the section labeled "general evaluation of the interview."

No attempt was made to keep the respondent from seeing what was being written. However, if the informant seemed interested in what was being written, the investigator was careful not to write anything that would offend him or interfere with his answers to later questions. Any such comments were recorded immediately after the interview.

All of the interviewing for this study was completed during June, July, and August.

The Sample Studied

The group studied consisted of one hundred Negroes in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a city with a metropolitan population in 1950 of 158,236, an urbanized population of 138,864, and an urban population of 125,629.¹⁴ Of the metropolitan population 52,262 are Negroes; of the urbanized, 43,734; and of the urban, 35,117.

¹⁴Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of Population, Part 18, Louisiana (Washington: United States Printing Office, 1952), Table 36, p. 54. Urban refers to the population of that area within the city limits; urbanized includes the urban population plus the population of the "residential" areas outside the city limits; and metropolitan includes both urban and urbanized areas plus the remainder of East Baton Rouge Parish.

In this study only urban Baton Rouge was included and only Negroes twenty-five years old and older were interviewed. The sample was a random one in the sense that no pre-conceived method of selecting the Negroes was used. It was stratified in the sense that a certain number from each of five educational categories were interviewed (See Tables I and II). The Negro residential section was divided into areas and a pre-determined number of Negroes were interviewed in each area.

Of those interviewed, 42 per cent were men and 58 per cent were women. This distribution compares favorably with the urban Baton Rouge population distribution, which shows 45.8 per cent male and 54.2 female among Negroes 25 years old or older. The ages ranged from 25 to 85 years (See Table III for a more complete description) with the mean age being 47 years. Table III shows an irregular distribution of interviews among women while the distribution among males was much more regular. This concentration in the 25 to 29 years of age group follows the general population characteristics closely. The 1950 census shows that 48.6 per cent of the Negro women twenty-five years old and older in urban Baton Rouge fall into this category. Of the group used in this study, 47.4 per cent were in this category.

TABLE I
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS AS COMPARED
WITH THAT OF THE NEGRO URBAN POPULATION
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER IN BATON ROUGE

CATEGORIES	NEGRO URBAN POPULATION		INTERVIEWED
	No.	%	IN SAMPLE %
No school years completed	2,265**	11*	10
1 thru 4 years completed	6,090	32	32
5 thru 9 years completed	6,930	36	36
9 thru 12 years completed	2,310	12	13
13 years & over completed	875	5	9
School years not reported	760	4	
Totals	19,230*	100*	100**

*Data were taken from the Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of Population, Part 18, Louisiana (Washington: United States Printing Office, 1952), Table 36, p. 54.

**Data were taken from the interview schedules.

TABLE II
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX

SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
No school years completed (Group A)	4	6	10
1 thru 4 years completed (Group B)	16	16	32
5 thru 8 years completed (Group C)	15	21	36
9 thru 12 years completed (Group D)	3	10	13
13 years & over completed (Group E)	4	5	9
Totals	42	58	100

TABLE III
AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS

AGES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
25 - 29	4	5	9
30 - 34	7	12	19
35 - 39	3	10	13
40 - 44	3	3	6
45 - 49	3	8	11
50 - 54	2	9	11
55 - 59	4	6	10
60 - 64	5	3	8
65 - 69	3	2	5
70 - 74	4	0	4
75 - 79	3	0	3
80 - 84	0	0	0
85 - 89	1	0	1
Totals	42	58	100

Table III shows also that no women seventy years old or older were interviewed, a departure from the general census characteristics. Some of these women were contacted but were in such poor health that they could not be interviewed.

The length of residence in Baton Rouge ranged from six months to twenty-nine years (see Table IV). It may be noted that 52 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women had lived in this city for over 30 years.

Thirty occupations were represented, including unskilled (by far the largest group), semi-skilled, and professional. Some, of course, were unemployed.

The existence of a number of female household heads among the sample is a factor that ought to be mentioned here because of its importance among Negroes. Of the 58 Negro women interviewed, 14 said that they were household heads. One of these women said that her husband lived with her but that she was the head of the house. Other respondents, both male and female, said that an older woman was head of the house where they lived. This older woman was sometimes the mother of either the husband or the wife, a grandmother or an aunt. The highest percentage of these female household heads was found in the two lowest educational categories: 33 per cent of the "no school years completed" category and 25 per cent of the "1 thru 4 years completed" category.

TABLE IV
 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN BATON ROUGE OF SAMPLE
 POPULATION, BY SEX

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (Years)	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
0 - 4	1	4	5
5 - 9	2	8	10
10 - 14	3	9	12
15 - 19	5	6	11
20 - 24	4	3	7
25 - 29	5	1	6
30 - 34	7	8	15
35 - 39	2	4	6
40 - 44	3	2	5
45 - 49	4	3	7
50 - 54	2	6	8
55 - 59	2	4	6
60 - 64	0	0	0
65 - 69	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	0	1
75 - 79	1	0	1
Totals	42	58	100

An attempt has been made to describe the group of 100 Negroes used in this study. Other characteristics, such as organization affiliations, will be discussed in detail in the chapters on channels of communication used.

Problems in Reporting and Interpreting the Data

Some of the problems and limitations in reporting the data in this study should be mentioned. First of all, since the sample was limited to only 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes, the results compiled from the data cannot be applied to Negroes in general, or even Negroes in the South, or even the Negroes in Baton Rouge.

Another problem is that no similar studies have been made; therefore, no field tests have been constructed by which it was possible to determine the most effective method of research. For most kinds of research, studies have been made with the specific purpose of testing the method used. This study had to be made without the benefit of previous similar research.

One problem in presenting the data that cannot be ignored is encountered in the use of percentages. Usually the convention is observed that percentages are not used unless the number of units in each totality number 100 or more since percentage means units per 100. However, in this study percentages are used to describe the communication

characteristics of the members of five educational groups of the 100 Negroes studied and no attempt is made to extend the conclusions to the universe. Even though the number in each educational category is considerably less than 100, the use of percentages seems to make possible the clearest comparisons of the data gathered from the members of each of the five groups. About the use of percentages Hagood and Price point out:

Not all statisticians observe this convention. The reason for the convention seems to be the generalizing function implied in the use of percentages. Literally the word means so many per one hundred, with a strong suggestion of describing at least a hundred units or more. However, as the differentiation between the descriptive and the generalizing functions of statistics becomes better recognized, it is possible that as purely descriptive measures of the distribution of a characteristic among a unique group of units, percentages computed on small bases will become more generally permissible.¹⁵

No attempt is made to disguise the results by using percentages. As a guide to the reader, the absolute numbers are included in the tables along with each percentage. Therefore, in order more clearly to present the material in this study, each educational category is considered as a totality and the percentages in the Tables under the column labeled "Totals" are based on the entire 100 Negroes interviewed.

¹⁵Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 74.

Chapter Outlines

The material in this study has been divided into six chapters. Chapter One has included a brief statement of the importance of the study. In addition, there has been a brief statement of the problem itself, a brief discussion of the media of communication in general, a description of the method of research used, a description of the samples selected, and a discussion of the problems of reporting and interpreting the data.

Chapter Two enumerates the written channels of communication, contains a thematic analysis of a selected number of these, and briefly discusses the use of these channels by the members of each educational category included in the inquiry.

Chapter Three ennumerates and describes oral channels of communication available to the Negroes studied and discusses the use of these channels by the members of each educational category studied.

Chapters Four and Five contain an analysis of the responses to eight questions about topics currently in the news. These questions attempted to determine whether the respondent possessed information and, if so, where he obtained it. In addition, some of the questions attempted to get the respondent to express an opinion.

Chapter Six summarizes the findings of this study.

CHAPTER II
THE WRITTEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY
100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

In this study the channels of communication have been divided into two major groups, written and oral. The written channels discussed in this chapter include newspapers, magazines, books, and other types of printed or written material available. The oral channels which are discussed in Chapter Three include radio, television, all kinds of speeches, and hearsay.

An attempt has been made to tabulate the number of people who read each newspaper (see Table V) but no attempt had been made to determine those who read each magazine. Ninety-one per cent of the Negroes interviewed said they read one or more of the following newspapers: Morning Advocate, the Baton Rouge daily morning "white" newspaper; State Times, the Baton Rouge daily evening newspaper; and the Times Picayune, a New Orleans daily newspaper. Eighty-one per cent of the interviewees read the State Times; twenty-eight per cent, the Morning Advocate; and twelve per cent, the Times Picayune. Of those interviewed, 19 per cent read both the State Times

and the Morning Advocate and 12 per cent read at least one local and one New Orleans white newspaper.

The Negro newspapers read were: the News Leader, the Baton Rouge weekly; the Pittsburgh Courier (Louisiana edition), a weekly national newspaper published in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; and the Louisiana Weekly, a weekly newspaper published in New Orleans. Of those interviewed 79 per cent read the News Leader; 17 per cent, the Pittsburgh Courier; and 7 per cent, the Louisiana Weekly. There were two possible reasons why the News Leader exceeded the other Negro newspapers in circulation. First, it cost half as much as the others and second, it carried more local news, especially society news.

Table V gives a more detailed summary of the persons in each category who read newspapers. A high percentage of Group A depended on other persons to read the news to them; their contact with these papers was irregular. No one in this group indicated that he had read any of the national Negro newspapers. A small percentage of those in Group B also depended on others to read to them. The members of Group D all read at least one white or Negro newspaper and the members of Group E all read at least one white and one Negro newspaper. Of those in Group E, 67 per cent read at least two white newspapers and 100 per cent read at least two Negro newspapers.

TABLE V

A SUMMARY OF THE NEWSPAPERS READ BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

NEWSPAPERS	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>State Times</u>	80 (8)*	63 (20)	89 (32)	100 (13)	100 (9)	82 (82)
<u>Morning Advocate</u>	40 (4)	16 (5)	31 (12)	38 (5)	44 (4)	30 (30)
<u>Times Picayune</u>	20 (2)	3 (1)	6 (2)	23 (3)	56 (5)	13 (13)
Those reading both <u>State Times</u> and <u>Morning Advocate</u>	20 (2)	6 (2)	22 (8)	31 (4)	44 (4)	20 (20)
Those reading at least one local white paper and <u>Times Picayune</u>	20 (2)	3 (1)	3 (1)	23 (3)	67 (6)	13 (13)
Those reading only white newspapers	30 (3)	6 (2)	19 (7)	8 (1)	none	13 (13)
<u>News Leader</u>	70 (7)	72 (23)	78 (28)	92 (12)	100 (9)	79 (79)
<u>Pittsburgh Courier</u>	none	9 (3)	14 (5)	23 (3)	67 (6)	17 (17)
<u>Louisiana Weekly</u>	none	3 (1)	6 (2)	8 (1)	33 (3)	7 (7)
Those reading both <u>News Leader</u> and one or more out-of- town Negro news- paper	none	13 (4)	19 (7)	31 (4)	100 (9)	24 (24)
Those reading only Negro newspapers	none	9 (3)	none	none	none	3 (3)

TABLE V (Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Those reading at least one white and one Negro newspaper	70 (7)	63 (20)	89 (32)	92 (12)	100 (9)	80 (80)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a newspaper or group of newspapers.

The white and Negro magazines read by the 100 urban
Baton Rouge Negroes were as follow:

White

Boy Scout Life
Children's Digest
Colliers
Coronet
Esquire
Extension
Faith Magazine
Good Housekeeping
Hobby
Holiday
Home and Garden
Humpty Dumpty
Ladies Home Journal
Life
Look
McCalls
Message

Newsweek
Parade (magazine enclosed
with the local
Sunday Newspaper)
Readers Digest
Real Romances
Saturday Evening Post
Sports
This Week
The Grade Teacher
Time
True Confessions
True Story
U S News
Vogue
Women
Woman's Home Companion

Negro

Bronze Thrills
Color
Crisis
Ebony
Hue

Jive
Jet
Our World
Sepia
Tan

Because of the large number of magazines named, no attempt was made to tabulate the number of interviewees who read each one. Life, Readers Digest, True Confessions, Ebony, Our World, and Jet seem to have been read more than any of the others. Table VI shows that few members of Group A had any contact with magazines.¹ Group E read

¹ Those who named magazines said that they only looked at the pictures.

TABLE VI

A SUMMARY OF THE MAGAZINES READ BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

MAGAZINES	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Negro Magazines	10 (1)*	16 (5)	44 (16)	69 (9)	89 (8)	39 (39)
White Magazines	10 (1)	22 (7)	56 (20)	69 (9)	100 (9)	46 (46)
Those who read only Negro Magazines	none	3 (1)	8 (3)	8 (1)	none	5 (5)
Those who read only white Magazines	none	9 (3)	19 (7)	7 (1)	11 (1)	12 (12)
Those who read at least one Negro and one white Magazine	10 (1)	13 (4)	36 (12)	62 (8)	89 (8)	33 (33)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a magazine or group of magazines.

magazines, especially the white ones, more than any of the other groups. None of the members of Group E read Negro magazines exclusively, but a small percentage read only white ones.²

Except for the better educated Negroes, few read any books other than the Bible. The only book that any of the members of Groups A and B mentioned was the Bible. All of Group E, 38 per cent of Group D, and 14 per cent of Group C said that they had read at least one book³ other than the Bible.

A number of miscellaneous written channels were mentioned. These included the following: written information sent home to the parents by the schools, hand bills delivered by stores, and information pamphlets given workers by their unions and employers. Some of these channels will be encountered in Chapters Four and Five when the answers to the eight questions in the interview schedule are discussed.

A Thematic Analysis of Some Written Channels Used by the Negroes Interviewed

This thematic analysis is an attempt to describe some channels of communication employed by the 100 urban

²Some of the better educated Negroes said that they would not buy Negro magazines and that they objected to the local Negro newspaper because these were of poor quality and too radical. However, the survey shows that most of them read the local newspaper.

³Comic books were not counted.

Baton Rouge Negroes. No attempt was made to do a content analysis. By examining the information printed in some of the Negro newspapers and magazines, the paths along which and the sub-stations through which information passes can be illustrated. In addition, portions of articles are cited which exemplify some of the barriers discussed in Chapter One.

A. Newspapers

The four Negro newspapers selected for this thematic analysis were the following: the Pittsburgh Courier, the Louisiana Weekly, the News Leader, and the Chicago Defender. Although it has a small circulation in the Baton Rouge area and none of the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes interviewed named it, the Chicago Defender is included because it is sold in the community and because it serves as a source of national news releases for the local Negro newspaper.⁴

The five sections of these newspapers examined were the following: the news articles, feature articles, editorials, society news, and advertisements.

The majority of the material found in these five sections of the Negro newspapers seemed to fall into two major categories: sensationalism and ego-building.

⁴Leslie Barnum, Interview, September 26, 1955.

1. Sensationalism

Sensationalism refers not only to the material but also to the manner in which it is presented. The Negro newspapers seem to try to present information in a manner different than do most of the white papers. E. Franklin Frazier, a Negro author, offers the following explanations:

Since Negroes read the white papers, the Negro newspaper is an additional newspaper. This fact in itself would mean that if the news were published in the Negro newspaper it would have to be presented with a special slant in order to attract Negro readers.⁵

In addition to presenting the material in a different manner, an examination of some of the written channels shows that some material seems to have been selected primarily because it could be presented in a sensational or unusual manner. Therefore, the general category, sensationalism, was selected as an aid in classifying the material found in the written channels of communication found in this chapter. Under sensationalism fall such topics as crime, domestic troubles, race incidents, and segregation problems.

The first place that sensationalism may be found is in the headlines of the Negro newspapers. These newspapers

⁵E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p.515.

seemed to try to attract attention by bold-faced type, sometimes in red, about a mysterious death, murder, lynching, rape, or segregation. Many of these headlines concerned incidents that received little or no coverage in the white papers. Some examples are as follow:

Pittsburg Courier (Louisiana edition)

"Campus Death Still Mystery" (July 16, 1955, p. 1).

"Cross Fired, Man Slain" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"100,000 View Battered Body of Lynch Victim" (September 17, 1955, p. 1).

"Lynch Trial Disgusting" (October 1, 1955, p. 1).

Louisiana Weekly

"Eight Plead 'Not Guilty' to Interracial Marriages" (July 16, 1955, p. 1).

"30,000 See Body of Chicago Boy Slain in Miss." (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Investigate Post Office Bias" (July 2, 1955, p. 1).

"DA to Continue Investigation of Man Accused of Child Rape" (July 9, 1955, p. 1).

"Report Rape Tried of Grandmother and Maid" (June 25, 1955, p. 1).

"Boy Murder in Miss. Deplored, Masses View Body in Chicago" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

Chicago Defender

"GI Wounds 9, Kills 3, Self" (September 3, 1955, p. 1). This headline was printed in red.

As many as three or four such headlines appeared on the front page of a single newspaper.

The stories that followed these headlines were often equally sensational. In an attempt to attract and hold the attention of the reader, details were included that conventionally are deleted by most white newspapers. Also, some of the events given prominent attention received little or no attention in white newspapers. Following is an example of the latter taken from the Pittsburgh Courier:

They're building a "cloak of secrecy" around the mystery death of glamorous Dr. Grace Byrd Peterson!...

What it is that Dr. Schick and Dr. Robert E. Zipf are looking for is anyone's guess...

AMONG THE THINGS which are said to be under official scrutiny are:

(1) An alleged week-end party in Dayton which Dr. Peterson is reported to have attended.

(2) Where she obtained the 0.26 alcoholic content, revealed during the autopsy.

(3) What Dr. Peterson did between the time she put her father, James A. Byrd, business manager at Central State College, on a plane, and the last time she was seen alive on the school's campus.

(4) What transpired during the 'mystery ninety minutes' which sheriff Steward told us could easily be the 'key' to the whole case...if there is a case... FINALLY, THE entire country awaits, with bated breath, for Coroners Schick and Zipf to clarify their electrifying statement 'Death NOT from natural causes.'⁶

⁶Pittsburgh Courier, Vol. 46, No. 29 (July 16, 1955), p. 1, Col. 3.

An example from the same newspaper illustrates the sensational treatment of a national news item and shows how parts of the information may be changed as it passes through different sub-stations. In the following article 100,000 people are reported to have viewed the body of the Till boy while in the Louisiana Weekly this number was reported as 30,000 and in the News Leader, 10,000. The Courier's account is as follows:

"Let the people see what they have done to my boy!"

This agonized cry, wrenched from pain-racked lips of Mrs. Mamie Bradley, can easily become the opening gun in a war on Dixie which can reverberate around the world.

More than 100,000 people from every walk of life...black and white alike... have walked by the pine casket of 14 year old Emmett Till!...whose body was sacrificed on the altar of a fallacious "White Supremacy" doctrine!

Emmett Till...whose only 'crime' was that he allegedly whistled at a white woman in Money, Miss.⁷

The News Leader seems to try each week to find some local incident that will attract the attention. Two examples that illustrate the sensational and also illustrate the lack of censorship in writing the accounts are as follow:

⁷Ibid., Vol. 46, No. 37 (September 10, 1955), p. 1, Col. 7.

A local man was shot four times last week by another man who claimed he won the love of his common-law wife....

Jones told Chief of Detectives Oscar Liussa, one of the investigating officers, that he and his common-law wife...separated last month after 10 years of living together. Police identified Giles as the one who won the woman's affection....

...Jones told police, he went to the trunk of his car, got a rifle, placed it on the front seat of his car, and drove back to his wife's house. When he got back, he said he saw Giles called and told him "you black s.o.b., I am going to kill you."...

Junius Green...stated he was in bed asleep when he was awakened by some shots and when he got to the door, he heard a voice say, "you s.o.b., you won't talk no more."⁸

A helpless 37 year old grandmother on her way home from a late movie told city police she was knocked down criminally assaulted in an alley-way late last Friday night, and a passerby refused to help her in her scuffle to escape an unidentified teen-ager who is still at large...

The...woman said that while the man was attacking her a short man passed by and she yelled for help. But the passing man ignored the woman's plea for help, and allegedly said, "I am just passing through," and the police reported the man telling the attacker, "go ahead man."⁹

Although most of the editorials are mainly ego-building, a few display the unusual and certainly border on the sensational. One of these borderline editorials which also illustrates a cultural barrier to communication, appeared in the Chicago Defender. This editorial

⁸ News Leader, Vol. 4, No. 27 (July 2, 1955), p. 1, Col. 1.

⁹ Ibid., Col. 3.

shows, as was pointed out in Chapter One, that some cultural barriers involve emotional reactions that are not easily overcome so that communication can flow smoothly. A portion of the editorial is as follows:

A white friend of long standing who has valiantly struggled to rid himself of every vestige of racism tells me that he feels like giving up the struggle and returning to the Ku Klux Klan...

It seems that he has a young niece who is in love with a colored boy who wants to marry her, but he does not have the courage to buck his well-to-do parents....

If this were in Mississippi of course, I would imagine the elders would be afraid of a lynching bee...

"Imagine, these SOB's feeling their son and professional friends are too good for my niece," my friend bellowed at me....

...I told him that the Negro ghetto had developed an upper crust of fairly well-to-do brothers who were trying hard to create some sort of non-white aristocracy.

In this newly developing circle of wealthy Negroes, there were strong undercurrents of Negro nationalism and anti-white prejudice.

They are trying desperately to build a wall around themselves so that they would never again feel the sting of white scorn or contempt...

Sooner or later they will learn as Mr. Abbott used to say, all race prejudice must be destroyed.¹⁰

One of the contributors to the editorial page of the News Leader usually writes about sensational local events. He uses humor and sometimes sarcasm to present his ideas.

¹⁰"Dope and Data," Louise E. Martin, Chicago Defender, Vol. LI, No. 18 (September 3, 1955), p. 9, Col. 6.

He is an example of the filter points through which information passes on its way to the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes. His style of writing seems to appeal to most of the readers of the News Leader. Part of one of his editorials is as follows:

...that nothing fits around the devil's back that won't BUCKEL AROUND HIS BELLY. So as I sat in another AIR CONDITIONED PLUSH OFFICE of one of my friends, who incidentally is a member of the SOUTHERN GENT'MUN; as usual, I WUZ THINKIN' - this particular friend of mine wuz worried, not about CIVIL RIGHTS or EQUAL JUSTICE - rather about integrated schools and social equality - (that ole bugaboo again) So! I was representing (to him) the entire Negro population of E.B.R. area. The conversation was casual; but the questions came thick and fast; NOW! I don't feel qualified to speak for our entire group, and could only speak for me and mine - the gentlemen quoted scripture, relative to HAGAR, HAM, SIMONE and a number of dark skinned characters mentioned in the HOLY WRIT - he referred to the old and rather stale story of the different species of BIRDS and ANIMALS who keep solely to themselves, (not withstanding the fact that they all drink from the same stream and eat out of the same fields) as God intended; and as we talked, I WUZ REMINDED of four young Negroes confined in our E.B.R. jail - Wilbert Smith, Carl Jackson, Floyd Tizeno and Frank Lewis, all teen agers, and all of whom are charged with AGGRAVATED RAPE - now, let's face facts - the first two are alleged to have committed rape - according to our records against a BAKER HOUSEWIFE - the second two are charged with KIDNAPPING and AGGRAVATED RAPE against a NEGRO WOMAN - and thereby HANGS THE TALE - in order to minimize the gravity of the second two offenders, an assistant Atty. General of La. went out of the way to try and prove the Negro woman guilty of MORAL

TURPITUDE in order to discredit her testimony and minimize the gravity of the crime committed against her. This was done in spite of her educational background, her moral conduct and her personal character, which were not mentioned in the case of the first aforementioned lady, whom I HEARD was not even married and whose educational and personal background were practically NIL - now, pray tell me, how are we ever going to achieve a TRUE DEMOCRACY when we continue to maintain TWO SEPARATE TYPES OF JUSTICE in our COURTS OF LAW - why does a Negro have to serve ten years in Angola for a crime that a Southern Gent'mun gets only a suspended sentence for (Darn Integration) gimme EQUAL JUSTICE and you can keep your segregated schools, and all else connected with them.¹¹

The treatment of the subject of discrimination in Negro newspapers often falls under the category of sensationalism. These newspapers give prominent coverage to news items about discriminatory practices in hiring, paying and use of facilities. Part of one article from a series covering a case in the Baton Rouge post office is as follows:

Evidences of bias in hiring practices at the local post office were aired before a group of civil leaders in a closed meeting Monday afternoon in the presence of an official of the Post Office Department, Washington, D.C., and the local NAACP is mapping a program of action to remedy the situation.

Thomas P. Bomar, employee relations officer, Bureau of personnel of the Post Office Department in Washington.....did not disclose the nature of the meeting with

¹¹"I Heard," News Leader, Vol. 4, No. 37 (September 10, 1955), p. 4-B, Col. 7.

Alton L. Lea, local postmaster, but assured the group Monday that the Postmaster General's office will take necessary action against any discriminatory practices....¹²

An article from the same newspaper discussing discrimination in the use of hospital facilities by Negro specialists is as follows:

The dwindling ranks of Negro medics in the south can apparently be attributed to the lack of hospital facilities, segregation, conditions under which their children grow, availability of advancement and financial reasons...

Dr. Lavizzo, a native Orleanian, said that many Negro specialists go to northern communities because there is a wider choice and they can do better.

He noted that in some communities Negro doctors treat patients until operation time and are forced to turn them over to other physicians because Negro medics do not have access to the local hospital facilities. He explained that one-third of the doctor's energy is spent fighting segregation and the other two-thirds keeping tab on patients.¹³

2. Ego-building

The next group of articles fall under the ego-building category. Ego-building refers to that material or its treatment which glorifies the Negro race and makes belonging to this race attractive. The Negro writers seem to

¹²Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 27 (July 2, 1955), p. 1, Col. 8.

¹³"Racial Prejudices Steer Medics Away from the South," Louisiana Weekly, Vol. XXX, No. 43 (July 16, 1955), p. 1, Col. 6.

try to make the Negroes proud of their race by describing the accomplishments of other Negroes. Theodore M. Newcomb points out that "a group is...most cohesive when its members (1) find membership in it attractive; (2) are motivated to take their roles as assigned; and (3) share common understandings of the group norms."¹⁴ The ego-building articles grasp every opportunity to publicize the accomplishments of Negro athletes, entertainers, educators, scientists, lawyers, and politicians. In this category are found many editorials and other articles on the advances being made in the integration movement. Some of the articles seem to attempt to show Negroes that members of their race who are qualified can hold responsible positions. The theme occurs in the following article from the Chicago Defender:

The appointment of Walter Gordon, prominent Berkeley attorney, as Governor of the Virgin Islands was received here (Los Angeles) with warm enthusiasm by members of both major political parties.

Gordon, a former president of the Alameda Chapter of the NAACP is reported to be a close friend of Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren and is chairman of the California Adult Authority....

"His...broad training in government as a member of former Governor Warren's cabinet are splendid assets for his new position," Houston said.

¹⁴Newcomb, op. cit., p. 635.

Betty Hill, organizer of the Political Study Clubs, oldest and largest of the G.O.P. women's groups here, said: "It's the first appointment we HAVE HAD THAT AMOUNTS TO ANYTHING. Gordon's all right. He's a classmate of Chief Justice Warren and they've gone up the ladder together, hand-in-hand. His lovely wife will do us proud, too, as the Island's First Lady."¹⁵

The subject of Negroes' achievements in the field of business may be included under the ego-building category. An article discussing the achievement of a group of Negroes in business is as follows:

The establishment of Special Markets, Inc. at 92 Liberty Street in New York City, had a singularly uplifting effect on this writer. It was a pleasure to learn that a group of Negroes had set up an investment office in the Wall Street area....

At the present time, there are large reserves of idle cash controlled by Negroes. If some of this money could be transferred into the basic industries, a great service could be rendered both the industries and those who invest in them. In fact, benefits far greater than the dividends could result from the investment. More respect for the group of people who were wise enough to sacrifice and make the investment is one. A greater opportunity for employment in the industries in which we have large investments, is another. It has long been the contention of this writer that Negroes will gain first-class citizenship (and what goes with it) only when they are able to take care of themselves. People who control none of the earth's resources will never be first-class citizens, nor will they every [sic] gain respect.

One of the methods by which we can control some of the earth's resources is investing in some of the basic industries

¹⁵Chicago Defender, Vol. II, No. 18 (September 3, 1955), p. 1, Col. 7.

of the land. That opportunity is graciously offered by Special Markets, Inc. Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Patterson should be complimented for directing their efforts into such a business as this.¹⁶

One of the privileges for which Negroes have expressed the desire is that of serving on juries. Any news about integration in the judicial field is widely circulated by the Negro newspapers. Such an item is found in the following news report:

For the first time in the history of New Orleans, two Negroes were intentionally appointed to serve on the Orleans Parish grand jury Monday by Criminal Court Judge William J. O'Hara....

In his charge to the first interracial grand jury, Judge O'Hara told the jurors that his primary reason was that the previous systematic exclusion of Negroes has resulted into a critical technical advantage for Negro defendants in capital cases...

"Every grand jury selected in Orleans within the memory of man has been an all-white jury.

"On such parts alone the Supreme Court of the United States has consistently quashed indictments and annulled death penalty convictions in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi."

During the past several months, local attorneys have used "the systematic exclusion" of Negroes from the grand jury to great advantage enabling many defendants to be granted writs of review.¹⁷

¹⁶Louisiana Weekly, Vol. XXX, No. 51 (September 10, 1955), p. 3-B, Col. 7.

¹⁷Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 51 (September 10, 1955), p. 1, Col. 6. Later the statement in this article that these were the first to serve on the grand jury was corrected when a Negro man notified the newspaper that he had served on the grand jury on March 3, 1941. However, it is believed that his appointment was unintentional. He had very light skin and may have been mistaken for white.

On this same general subject, the Pittsburg Courier reported that "one of the highest honors bestowed on a Negro recently came to E. Frederick Morrow when President Eisenhower appointed him to the post of administrative officers for the special projects office of the President."¹⁸ The same issue of this newspaper reported the appointment of General Sessions Judge Harold A. Stevens to the State Supreme Court.

J. A. Rogers, a weekly contributor to the editorial page of the Pittsburgh Courier, writes many of these ego-building articles. Sometimes his articles border on the sensational when he pursues the theme of Negro protest. In one of his editorials which criticizes white people for their attitude toward Negroes, the intricate interrelationships involved in attitudinal barriers are illustrated. A portion of the article is as follows:

And how did it all begin? Negroes were slaves here. But the ancestors of some of these stuck-ups were slaves here, too. The difference is that when they were freed they could get lost with the other whites, thanks to their color, while the Negro's color didn't permit him. Furthermore, the first records we have of slavery is that of white people. The word, slavery, itself, is of white origin...it comes from "Slav."
 ...Virginia, was England's chief dumping-ground for convicts and prostitutes until America won her independence. In 1783, when a shipload of them arrived, America, now free, refused to let them land and they were dumped in the West Indies.

¹⁸ Pittsburgh Courier, Vol. 46, No. 29 (July 16, 1955), p. 1, Col. 1.

It is safe to say there wasn't a convict or a prostitute among the Africans. Locks, prisons, brothels were unknown in Africa south of the Sahara before the coming of the white man. The Indians here didn't have any either. So, why so stuck-up over the mere accident of color, fellow?¹⁹

The most numerous articles under the ego-building category are those which report the progress of the school integration movement. Not a single Negro newspaper examined included less than two such accounts. The Negro newspapers not only report news about places where integration has been tried but also include editorials that mirror the views of the Negro race on segregation. With these editorials the Negro newspapers assume their role as an agency of "Negro Protest."²⁰ This tendency is illustrated by the following:

Will history record that the South's will-of the whisp [sic] concept of "separate but equal" died in this city (Ashville, North Carolina) on July 5, 1955?

Efforts to get the school board to issue a statement to the effect that Negro pupils would be admitted failed. In fact, Melvin H. Taylor, superintendent of the board, issued an umbrella statement to the effect that Negroes would be admitted. He said, "We expect to obey the law." He said also, that other members of the board felt that "integration is now inevitable."

"We hope to bring integration into effect so gradually that there will be no strong

¹⁹ "No Reason to be Stuck Up," Ibid., p. 6, Col. 7.

²⁰ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), Vol. 2, pp. 908-12.

sentiment aroused against it, particularly among white people."²¹

Some of the news releases on the subject of segregation attempt to impress upon the Negro his important role in the movement and urge him to become more active in his support of the organizations that are engaged in this campaign for civil rights. One of these articles is as follows:

While the Negro in America has to battle his way up and elbow his way forward for every inch of ground which he holds, he must continue to fight for his rights intelligently, insistently and unfailingly, Archibald J. Carey, Jr. vice chairman of President Eisenhower's committee on government employment, said in New Orleans this week.

...he urged the majorities to join in the fight for full participation into American Democracy in working out the solutions to many problems facing this country.

Carey urged Negroes to develop initiative and responsibility because they have a long way to go. He pointed out more jobs are being opened to Negroes but only a few are qualified....

On the issue of the U.S. Supreme Court decision, he said when the court issues an order for compliance with the law, it means promptness.²²

The News Leader usually tries to keep the local Negroes abreast of progress being made or events taking place in the Baton Rouge Area on the subject of integration. Such an article is the following:

²¹Pittsburgh Courier, Vol. 46, No. 29 (July 16, 1955), p. 16, Col. 1.

²²Louisiana Weekly, Vol. XXX, No. 37 (June 4, 1955), p. 1, Col. 4.

In double-barreled action this week the local NAACP branch with the support of a North Baton Rouge citizens organization has followed through with the organization's request of March 30th with another petition asking the East Baton Rouge Parish School Board to take immediate steps toward effecting the U.S. Supreme Court decree outlawing public school segregation. The groups set a deadline of August 1st to comply in "good faith" with the decision....

It was in the North Baton Rouge section last September nine parents accompanied some 39 children in a registration attempted at the all-white Gilmer-Wright Elementary School, shortly following the May 17, 1954 decision.

In the same case the two Negro attorneys who accompanied the children were charged with "drumming up business" by the Louisiana State Bar Association. They were tried by the Grievance Committee of the Association, but no public outcome has been made of the case.²³

Additional proof of the number and variety of articles on this subject featured by the Negro newspapers are the following headlines:

Pittsburgh Courier (Louisiana edition)

"Hoxie, Ark. - Proof That School Segregation Can Work in the South!" (July 23, 1955, p. 1).

"Court Speeds Up Integration" (July 23, 1955, p. 1).

"Court Outlaws Bus Segregation" (July 23, 1955, p. 1).

"Sen. Eastland Yells: 'Don't Obey Court!'" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Wilkins Raps Hodges! Blasts Jim-Crow Stand" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

²³News Leader, Vol. 4, No. 26 (June 25, 1955), p. 1, Col. 8.

"Boycotted Team Will Make Trip" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Court Test Faces Ring Bias in N.O." (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Georgia Action Called Disgrace" (August 20, 1955, p. 5).

"Bar Negro Votes" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Baptists Split Over Which Train to Ride to Convention" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Say Six Cops 'Muffed' Case; Only Negroes Were Fired" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"N.A.A.C.P. Presses Miss. Vote Fight" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Desegregation" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"San Antonio Public System Integrates" (September 10, 1955, p. 5).

"Houston Airport Cafe is Still Segregating" (September 10, 1955, p. 5).

"Court Exposes Carolina 'Squeeze'" (September 17, 1955, p. 1).

"Desegregation" (September 17, 1955, p. 7).

"Race Loan Group Grows" (September 17, 1955, p. 7).

"Nation Hit by Racial Outbreaks" (October 1, 1955, p. 1).

"Game Halted When Negro Goes on Field" (October 1, 1955, p. 4).

"Desegregation" (October 1, 1955, p. 5).

Louisiana Weekly

"'Not Going To Defy Supreme Court'-Mahoney" (June 4, 1955, p. 1).

"'Segregation Betrays Basic Truths of Christian Democracy,' XU Grads Told" (June 4, 1955, p. 1)

"Marshall Advises 'Quiet' Approach To Integration" (June 4, 1955, p. 3).

"NAACP Checks Legality of Bias Grant" (July 16, 1955, p. 1).

"Unveil Jim Crow Labor Policy at BR Esso Oil Co." (July 16, 1955, p. 7).

"Will Continue Fight For National Guard Integration" (July 16, 1955, p. 1).

"Norfolk School Board First to Favor Integration Principle" (July 16, 1955, p. 3).

"AU Prof. Sees Complete Integration By 1963" (July 16, 1955, p. 7).

"'Bias' In candidates Speeches Spurs Statewide Vote Registration Increase" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Fr. Twomey Says All Catholic Schools Will Be Integrated In South In 3 Yrs." (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Hearing on Integration Postponed To November 14" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"First Integrated Classes Begin At San Antonio, Tex." (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Parents More Upset About Inegration" (September 10, 1955, p. 3).

"Louisville Negro School Admits White Youngster" (September 10, 1955, p. 5).

"School Desegregation Plans Underway in 11 States NAACP Survey Shows" (September 10, 1955, p. 7-B).

"World War I Vet, Building Contractor Was First To Serve On N.O. Grand Jury" (September 24, 1955, p. 1).

"St. Helena Integration Hearing Oct. 4" (September 24, 1955, p. 1).

"Integration Doesn't Mean Intermarriage" (September 24, 1955, p. 11).

News Leader

"Wilkins Pledges Campaign to End Jim Crow by 1963" (April 23, 1955, p. 1).

"Negroes Refuse to March Behind Horses' Tails" (April 23, 1955, p. 1).

"School Implementation Arguments Ends - Silence" (April 23, 1955, p. 1).

"Integration Will Start Sept. 1956, Marshall Tells Delegates at Annual NAACP Convention" (June 25, 1955, p. 1).

"Baton Rougean Leads Talented Mixed Band" (June 25, 1955, p. 1).

"NAACP May Attempt to Block Rainach's Move for \$115,000" (July 9, 1955, p. 1).

"200 Leaders Hear Dobbs Speak on Equal Human Rights for All" (July 9, 1955, p. 1).

"Admit Negro Students, District Court Tells Univ. of Alabama" (July 9, 1955, p. 1).

"First Negro Justice Appointed to Supreme Court in New York" (July 9, 1955, p. 1).

"Ethyl Corp Bias Attack After Esso" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Priest Urges Catholics to Join NAACP" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"NAACP Head Says Politicians Holding Back School Policy" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Memberships Spurred As Dixie Raps NAACP" (August 20, 1955, p. 1).

"Eligible Negroes Can't Be Denied at LSU - Charge Propaganda Tactics" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Southern Gentlemen Suffer Loss As Segregation Stand Refused" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"NAACP Suit Contests \$100,000 'Melon and Attacks All Segregation Measures" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"India Officials Refuse Second Invite - Wilkins Sends Protest" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Orleans Suit to Test Segregation" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Catholics Set '56 Integration" (September 3, 1955, p. 1).

"Negroes May Attend U. of Ala., Judge Gives School More Time" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Many Negro Pupils Enter Deep South Schools for First Time" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Sesegregation Meets Planned by NAACP" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

"Ask Opening of FHA Apartments to Negroes" (September 10, 1955, p. 1).

Probably the most important ego-building part of every Negro newspaper is the society section. Of this section Franklin Frazier says,

Much of the news of happenings in the Negro community is concerned with Negro "society." The compensatory feature of Negro newspapers is especially prominent in the "society" news is an answer to the derogatory attitudes of whites concerning the activities of Negroes. The "society" news also reflects the appeal of the Negro press to the upper and middle classes in the Negro community.²⁴

In Baton Rouge the white newspapers carry no news of Negro social functions, not even those events involving the best educated and wealthiest Negroes. The Negro newspapers serve the important function of publicizing these social occasions. Journals like the Pittsburgh Courier which

²⁴Frazier, op. cit., p. 515.

print area editions carry items about outstanding Negroes in the respective areas. Other national newspapers without area editions, give space only to the social activities of the Negro elite in the large cities where the papers are published.

The society sections carry engagement and wedding announcements, wedding reception descriptions, party announcements and descriptions, and other types of society news similar to that carried in white newspapers, except that only Negroes are featured. These society sections are popular, in fact, the society section of the News Leader is reported to be the most popular section of the paper.²⁵

Although they do not necessarily fall under the two general categories used in this thematic analysis, some other features of the editorial pages of the Negro newspapers cannot be ignored.

The Pittsburgh Courier has the largest editorial section of the Negro newspapers examined. The Courier editorials cover a variety of topics including articles reprimanding Negroes for not working harder to gain their freedoms. An editorial illustrating the latter type is as follows:

²⁵Leslie Barnum, Interview, September 26, 1955. Barnum said that his newspaper had conducted a survey among their readers to determine what they liked most to read about in the News Leader.

Students of American history will recall the cry of that great statesman, Charles Catesworth Pinckney (1746-1825) in connection with continuing payments to the rapacious Barbary pirates; "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute...."

Colored Americans seem to have reversed the slogan of the redoubtable Pinckney to: "Millions for tribute, not one cent for defense!" despite the fact that it spends \$15 billion yearly.

This deplorable tendency has been dramatically illustrated by several incidents and examples since the end of World War II, a ten-year period during which we have talked much about group defense and given practically nothing to insure it, during which we have given billions in tribute to those who exploit and discriminate against us while donating next to nothing for such defense organizations as the NAACP, the Urban League and the United Negro College Fund; during which we have sought to raise certain sums of money for defense and invariably failed to attain our goals.

Now it is obvious that if we are going to achieve our goal of full citizenship rights and complete integration into American society with the tremendous forces arrayed against us, we've got to stop waving an empty gun and dig down into our doffers for the monetary ammunition needed to achieve victory.

It has been demonstrated over and over again that nobody else is going to do it for us.²⁶

The article quoted above was printed in a section of the editorial page entitled, "Courier Editorials," where each week two or three problems of segregation, discrimination, and race relations are discussed. These articles have considered such topics as the South's determination

²⁶Pittsburgh Courier, Vol. 46, No. 40 (October 1, 1955), p. 6, Col. 1.

to fight segregation, the ability of the Jews to overcome all obstacles, the school construction bill pending in Congress, racial discrimination in the National Guard, and the Tenack, New Jersey campaign to keep "real estate interests from causing people to sell desirable homes in 'panic' because some Negro families moved in."

A second regular feature of the editorial section, "Labor Front" written by Willard S. Townsend, usually discusses some topic pertaining to labor and the Negro. One of Townsend's columns described the employment outlook for 1955 as it would affect both white and Negro workers.

"Views - Reviews" by George S. Schuyler comments each week on such current affairs as congressional proceedings, personalities in the news, or answers to reader's letters.

Horace R. Clayton contributes a weekly column entitled "World at Large" in which he discusses a foreign country, one of its leaders, or some outstanding event abroad. In one article, for example, he discussed U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, "a man," he said, "who should not be dismissed lightly as he represents a point of view which the United States does not agree with entirely, but it is one which this country cannot ignore."²⁷ Clayton's articles have throughout a kind of "freedom theme."

²⁷Ibid., Vol. 46, No. 29 (July 16, 1955), p. 6, Col. 3.

Each week Marguerite Cartwright writes "Around the United Nations." She selects interesting and sometimes unusual events to discuss. For example, one week she discussed "Petitions to UN" as follows:

All types of problems are brought to the U.N., e.g., the petition from Mrs. Doale; we read: "Mr. Fappiani denied paternity of her child because the woman had also had sexual intercourse with other men. He also denies owing her any money. ...she was said to be a prostitute, arrested no less than fifteen times, previously having given birth to two half-breed sons who lived in a state of utter neglect..." Mrs. Doale was referred to the courts.²⁸

Additional regular features of the Courier's editorial section are as follow:

"Horizon" by P. L. Prattis.

"My View by Benjamine E. Mays.

"Around the World With the Churches" by B. H. Logan.

"The Women" by Evelyn Cunningham.

The Chicago Defender always includes (in its editorial section) its platform set forth by Robert S. Abbott in 1905:

1. American race prejudice must be destroyed.
2. The opening up of all trade unions to blacks as well as whites.
3. Representation in the President's cabinet.
4. Engineers, firemen and conductors on all American railroads, and all jobs in government controlled industries.

²⁸ Ibid., Vol. 46, No. 30 (July 23, 1955), p. 6, Col. 3.

5. Representation in all departments of police forces over the entire United States.
6. Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners.
7. Motormen and conductors on surface, elevated and motor bus lines throughout America.
8. Federal legislation to abolish lynching.
9. Full enfranchisement of all American citizens.²⁹

All of the editorials seem to advocate one or more of the objectives in the Defender's platform. No matter what current event the editorials discuss, the subject of segregation, discrimination, and race relations is ever present. In the section labeled "Our Opinion," one of the Defender's own editorial staff discussed the "AFL-CIO Merger" in the following manner:

Now, as the AFL and CIO approach a merger the fact of racial barriers within the unions of the American Federation of Labor becomes the urgent concern of every Negro. For in all likelihood racial discrimination will be perpetuated in the unified organization if certain unreconstructed white supremacists have their way....

Historians of the AFL and CIO may quarrel endlessly about the comparative virtues of the two movements, but there can be no question that one of the CIO's distinctive achievements has been to make progress in eliminating racial discriminations within its own ranks....

Lily-white unions must go!³⁰

²⁹Chicago Defender, Vol. LI, No. 18 (September 3, 1955), p. 9.

³⁰Ibid.

Other features of the Defender's editorial section not mentioned before are as follow: (1) Albert Barnett writes about an incident of discrimination or segregation; (2) Enoc P. Waters, a column about race relations entitled "Adventures in Race Relations;" and (3) Langston Hughes discusses some phase of segregation and discrimination.

The platform of the Louisiana Weekly, a weekly Negro newspaper read by many of the Negroes in Baton Rouge is as follows:

The Louisiana Weekly shall work relentlessly for human and civil rights for all citizens and will expose those who appeal to prejudice rather than reason in their approach to problems concerning human relations. The Louisiana Weekly shall strive to mould opinion in the interest of all things constructive.³¹

The editorials deal mostly with state topics and their effect upon the Negroes in Louisiana. Especially is this true of the editorials contributed by the Weekly's own staff. An editorial entitled "Tired of Being 'Short-changed'" speaks out for Negro rights in Louisiana by condemning statements made by certain gubernatorial candidates and illustrates one of the filter points that information may pass through before it reaches Negro leaders. The article is as follows:

³¹Louisiana Weekly, Vol. XXX, No. 43 (July 16, 1955, p. 3-B).

One candidate in particular got off on the wrong foot when he said what they (Negroes) want is not Negro and white children in the same classrooms, but equal schools, equal playgrounds and other public facilities for their own use.

Now surely the candidate in question "cap" Barham, should know by now that Negroes are law abiding citizens and have the utmost respect for law and order, especially for the United States Supreme Court and its rulingsHe should know that Negroes want NO MORE OR NO LESS than any other citizen in Louisiana is entitled to by virtue of his residence here.

...The Negro doesn't want or need any special facility or school system in which to be "short changed." That day is over.

To be sure that the day is over is the reason why the 150,000 Negroes who are registered voters throughout the state are so keenly interested in the coming national election....

When election time rolls around, there may be 200,000 votes which will COMMAND and GET the RESPECT AND CONSIDERATION of the top gubernatorial candidates.³²

The other editorials in the Weekly are quoted from other sources and nearly always are headed by the statement that, "The views expressed in this column do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Louisiana Weekly."

The editorial page of the News Leader usually carries articles designed to appeal to local Negro citizens. Appearing each week are these five columns: "Across the Editor's Desk," by Leslie Barnum, editor of the News Leader;

³²Ibid., Vol. XXX, No. 43 (July 16, 1955), p. 3-B, Col. 1.

"Labor Highlights," by Emile J. Brown; "Kleidoscope," by A. A. Lenoir; "Your Every Day Health," by Dr. H. H. Huggins; and "I Heard," by W. R. S. Gordon.

"Across the Editor's Desk" discusses some topic pertaining to segregation or discrimination on the local scene. In these editorials the writer seems to express freely his opinion.

"Kleidoscope" discusses national topics of current interest and "Labor Highlights" deals with labor topics currently in the news.

In "Your Every Day Health" Dr. Huggins, a local Negro physician, discusses some disease, its symptoms and how it can be cured. He also explains to the readers what the doctors do to keep up-to-date in the field of medicine in order to take better care of their patients.

In addition to the five regular features, the editorial section includes a weekly public opinion poll treating some national, state, or local topic and two columns the authors of which are never listed. Sometimes these discuss such topics as safety or a worthwhile project being sponsored by the Negroes in Baton Rouge. The local editorials, while they are not as well written as those in some of the larger Negro newspapers, offer more variety in subject matter.

One of the chief problems faced by all Negro newspapers is that of selling advertising. For the Negro

newspapers this presents a special problem since there are not enough Negro businesses to support all of the national and local newspapers. Discussing this situation, Franklin Frazier says,

Despite the fact that the Negro newspaper is an organ of protest and reflects the growing race consciousness of the Negro, it contains one feature that tends to contradict these claims. Many of the advertisements in Negro newspapers are concerned with products for straightening hair and whitening the skin and love charms and other items to appeal to the credulity of the Negro. A white columnist has often chided the Negro press for carrying such advertisements in view of the professed "race pride" and "race loyalty" of Negro newspapers. The defence offered by Negro newspapers has been weak because they are primarily business undertakings and such advertisements have been a rich source of revenue.³³

Some of the Negro newspapers have sold advertising space to large concerns and some of the local Negro newspapers have sold space to prominent local white businesses. For example, the News Leader only recently was successful in selling space to an increased number of local advertisers including major stores, bread companies, automobile dealers, and beverage distributors. The News Leader constantly urges the Negroes in Baton Rouge to patronize its advertisers.

³³ Frazier, op. cit., pp. 515-16.

Most of the national and local companies who advertise in these Negro newspapers use Negro models. Some of these companies emphasize that they employ Negro salesmen. One of the local automobile dealers printed the picture of their Negro salesman and asked the local Negroes to contact him for advice about their car needs. One of the interviewees said that representatives of a national beer concern had been meeting with the various Negro clubs and explaining the company's new policy of hiring Negroes for top jobs.

B. Magazines

Although they are not so widely read as the Negro newspapers, the Negro magazines are still an important written channel of communication. The Negro magazine read most was Ebony, published by the Johnson Publishing Company in Chicago, Illinois, the same company that publishes Jet, Tan, and Hue (a miniature Ebony). The history and objective of Ebony can best be told in the words of its publisher, 37 year old John H. Johnson, one of the youngest executives in the publishing world today.

Ebony was started ten years ago to mirror the brighter side of Negro life. On the whole, the Negro has had a good life in America during that period, and reporting on his activities has been for us, both a privilege and a pleasure. Because it has filled a long felt need of the Negro for recognition and respect, Ebony has succeeded beyond our fondest hopes.

The chief criteria we use in determining the suitability of any story which will appear on the pages of Ebony, is success and achievement in any field. In so doing, we have featured lawyers and farmers, school teachers and chorus girls, ministers and bellboys, scientists and bootblacks.

We believe that Ebony has helped the Negro gain a new respect and dignity by showing him as a fellow human being, with the same qualities and capacities as other members of his species.

We believe that Ebony has increased the Negro's pride in himself and his heritage by presenting his historical contributions to the development of our American culture.

We believe Ebony has promoted interracial understanding by emphasizing the positive and minimizing the negative aspects of race relations.

Finally, and certainly by no means least of all, we believe Ebony has given hope and inspiration to our young people. By portraying through words and pictures the success stories of great Negro Americans, we have proved for our youth that their dreams, too, can come true, and that any goal in life can be achieved if they put into it enough study, work, and faith....

We shall in the future continue to report honestly and accurately the noble determination of the Negro people to gain full equality.³⁴

The first issue of Ebony "hit the nation's newsstands in November, 1945";³⁵ after ten years it has a circulation of nearly 500,000. Not only is Ebony the largest Negro magazine in the world but it affords its publisher the

³⁴John H. Johnson, "A Message From the Publisher," Ebony, Vol. XI, No. 1 (November, 1955), p. 121.

³⁵Ibid., p. 122.

distinctions of being the first Negro ever to publish a successful magazine. In addition, Ebony claims to be "a pioneer and leader in national advertising in Negro publications;" "the most widely quoted and reprinted Negro publication in America;" distributed "in 15 foreign countries," and "a household word to Negroes all over the world."³⁶

In many respects Ebony is similar to Life magazine. The two magazines carry about the same type and amount of advertising; the main difference is that Ebony advertises many items bought only by Negroes, such as skin whiteners and hair straighteners, and it includes Negro models in most advertisements. The use of these Negro models may be considered an ego-building device.

The Table of Contents of Ebony is divided into three main sections; Entertainment, Sports, and Departments. Other sections appearing from time to time include "Personalities," "Religion," "Occupations," "Business," "Fashions," "Education," "Travel," and "Family." These articles feature all-Negro or mixed entertainment, an ego-building technique. Many pictures in this publication, as well as in the other Negro magazines, show parties, dances, night clubs, or sporting events with mixed groups as both spectators and performers. The October, 1955 issue of

³⁶Ibid., pp. 122-3.

Ebony featured Joan Proctor, who won a place on the Horace Heidt show. She was pictured on and off the stage with the white performer. Ebony quoted Heidt as saying, "I've been looking for a girl singer just like you. I'd like to have you with my show all the time."³⁷

The sports section features a Negro athlete and frequently shows him as he participates with whites. A typical article was the one entitled, "It's Great To Be A Yankee," which told about Elston Howard, the first Negro to play with the New York Yankee baseball team.³⁸ Another article entitled, "The Jackie Robinson Era," said that Robinson's stay with the Dodgers symbolizes the "best decade in Negro sports."³⁹ A third article entitled, "Football's Most Democratic Team," told about the Cleveland Browns football team. A portion of it is as follows:

...the Cleveland Browns have set an incomparable record in professional football....

The one player most responsible for this achievement is Otto Graham, all-time great quarterback, who declares: "...we've never cared whether a player was colored, white, green, or red - just so he did his job."

Always intensely coached, excellently-conditioned, and inebriated with desire for victory, the Browns are the most democratic team in football. From the beginning, the team has been interracial. Although nine

³⁷Ibid., Vol. X, No. 12 (October, 1955), p. 28.

³⁸Ibid., No. 11 (September, 1955), p. 50.

³⁹Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 1 (November, 1955), p. 52.

nationalities are represented on the club roster, they hang together like a family. Never has there been public hint of racial dissension among Browns, nor a show of petty jealousy between teammates. The Browns are buddies, on the field and off the field. They prove on a gridiron that democracy will work any time men want it to work.⁴⁰

The third regular monthly section "Departments" features such articles as "Photo-Editorials," "Letters to the Editor," "Fashion Fair," and a weekly feature "Date With a Dish" which has an interesting history. "Date With a Dish" has grown into a unique service over the past ten years. The original home service department began in 1945 and in March, 1955, an all new home service facilities were completed, "featuring a \$30,000 test kitchen (first one in the USA owned and operated by Negroes) ...proclaimed by visitors as a turquoise and pink dream." This new home service department "now occupying the entire top floor of one Chicago building, has four employees, operates employe [sic] and guest dining rooms, supplies features for all four magazines and renders a unique testing service to many Ebony food manufacturing accounts."⁴¹ Besides these ego-building articles, this section furnishes information on a variety of other subjects.

⁴⁰Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 2 (December, 1955), p. 104.

⁴¹Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 1 (November, 1955), p. 128.

In addition to these three regular sections each week, a varied selection of features complete the magazine. These articles also are designed specifically for Negroes. The "Foreign" section of one issue carried an article entitled, "How To Adopt Korean Babies" which told that "300 part-Negro foundlings are available for adoption."⁴² Other articles in the "Foreign" section were the following:

"War Baby With Too Many Moms" (June, 1955, p. 55).

"She Left Her Race For A Zulu Lover" (October, 1955, p. 55).

"English Bride in African Home" (August, 1955, p. 63).

Although most of the articles in this magazine are ego-building, sometimes these ego-building articles border on the sensational. Such an article entitled "The Curse of Passing" also illustrates a cultural barrier. The story shows how a Negro girl was never able to adjust sufficiently and be happy with her white husband and the members of his racial group. Highlights of the article are as follow:

WHAT HAPPENS to thousands of fairskinned Negroes who each year leave family, friends and second-class citizenship behind and cross over into the world of white people?

This intriguing question has been answered in part by a 25-year-old Chicago woman....

⁴²Ibid., Vol. X, No. II (September, 1955), p. 30.

While still a child Reba learned that the "Pa" she loved and respected was not her real father after all. Her real father had been a white man with whom her mother fell in love before she met the man she later married. This fact altered her outlook and the course of her life. It gave her a strange, secret pride and new ideas about herself.

Reba drifted from part-time passing as a department store employe [sic] to a complete break with the past as the wife of a wealthy white New York business man....

But the marriage foundered....She narrowly escaped discovery during a visit to a Greenwich Village night club where she was recognized by...a Negro musician she had known in Chicago....

Pregnancy produced a severe emotional crisis, the most trying of Reba's double life. She was seized with a vast fear that the baby would be born dark and she would thus be exposed as a Negro....The baby was born dead, and quite white.... But for the poor distraught Reba it was the beginning of the end. She decided to abandon her life among whites. "These people," she concluded, "were no better, no, not as good, as the colored I had known. More mannerly, yes, more knowledgeable and cultivated, acquainted with all the good things of life, but for all their background and opportunities they were less genuine, less understanding, less tolerant in their relations to each other. And less happy."⁴³

The titles of some additional articles in Ebony that exalted the position of Negroes are as follow:

Business

"America's Biggest Negro Business" (September, 1955, p. 35).

⁴³Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 2 (December, 1955), pp. 50-6.

"Davis Motors - Detroit is Only Negro Holding New Car Dealer's Franchise" (December, 1955, p. 74).

"Harlem's New House of Beauty" (June, 1955, p. 62).

"Birmingham's Business Baron" (June, 1955, p. 104).

Race

"The New Fighting South" (August, 1955, p. 69).

"My Last Will and Testament by Mary McLeod Behtune" (August, 1955, p. 105).

Religion

"Negro Minister Visits Russia" (November, 1955, p. 46).

"Fire Hose Baptism" (October, 1955, p. 102).

Education

"Miracle of Piney Woods" (October, 1955, p. 36).

"The School That Bias Built" (December, 1955, p. 85).

"Negro Students in Mexico" (June, 1955, p. 88).

Occupations

"Is There Hope For Negro Teachers?" (November, 1955, p. 35).

"Negroes on White Newspapers" (November, 1955, p. 77).

Our World, the second most popular Negro monthly magazine in Baton Rouge, is published by John P. Davis in New York City and closely resembles Look magazine. Our World is not divided into regular sections like those appearing

in Ebony. "The Mailbox" does appear each week and consists of letters to the editor about articles in the past issues of the magazine. Almost without exception the articles fall under the category of ego-building. Nearly all of the articles attempt to glorify the Negro as they treat subjects of segregation, discrimination, and race relations. One feature which has been in Our World for several months seeks to tell "How Negro America Lives." Number 17 in this series entitled, "Mr. and Mrs. Crime Buster," was the story of a Negro city policeman and his blond Negro wife who also works for the police department. The story is as follows:

George is a radio car patrolman. His vehicle is one of 473 precinct RMP cars in the city that respond to 402,000 alerts a year including 78,000 alarms of fire. Cyril is among a small, (247) select force of lady cops who have carved out an important segment of police work for themselves.

Typical assignments include investigation of illegal medical practices, fortune telling, confidence games and, of course, work with juveniles. Currently, she is assigned to a girl's shelter where she supervises the intake of wayward girls.

George and Cyril have excellent education for police work. Cyril has a M.A. degree in crime prevention. George has two years law in addition to college....

George and Cyril are drawing top police salaries. Together their earnings place them in the comfortable \$10,000 a year list.

Still in their early "thirties," they look forward to plenty more years of active, exciting work.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Our World, Vol. 10, No. 10 (October, 1955), pp. 28-30.

Other kinds of articles feature a variety of topics which can best be described by looking at one complete issue of the magazine. Each article in the October, 1955, issue will be listed along with a brief description of its contents.

"Two Star Wedding." - This was the story of the backstage romance of two Negro dancing stars who played together in "House of Flowers." Their elaborate wedding was described in detail.

"Teen Age Gangs Can Be Tamed." - Told here was the story of juvenile delinquency in New York City and what was being done about it. The juveniles pictured and discussed were both white and Negro, in fact, there were more whites than Negroes in the pictures.

"On Stage With Mr. Lights" was the story of Fred Lights, the senior stage manager of a top NBC television network morning show, Dave Garroway's "Today." It told about the success of a Negro in technical television work and pointed up the importance of his job.

"Rio Rebel" was the story of Abdias NasCrimento who "fights for Negro Rights" in Brazil through the theater. He organized a Negro experimental theater in 1944 which was not only an art group but served to mask a militant political setup fighting for equality.

"Talent Goes to School" told how show children, both white and Negro, obtained an education.

"What Archie Moore Knows About Marciano" was a sports feature about the famed Negro boxer.

"Campus-Bred Casuals" was a fashion section using all Negro models.

"Soup Memo" was a recipe column featuring a recipe used by a prominent Negro woman.

"Negro Birth Pills" was a story about new developments in methods of birth control. This note was included with the article:

As a family magazine, Our World takes a deep interest in passing on this information to our readers who may be interested in marriage and planning a future family. Additional information may be had by writing the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, through whose co-operation this story was made possible.

"What Happened" was the story of five Negroes who had appeared in earlier feature articles in Our World. Each had had great ambitions for his future but because of race had faded into obscurity and had been unable to attain these ambitions.

"Breaking Into Print" was the story of Edwin Jenkins' Empire School of Linotyping which teaches both whites and Negroes the new methods of off-set printing. The article told of the present-day opportunities in off-set printing.

"Jet Ferry Pilot" told the story of Captain Charles Cooper, a Negro officer who leads a mixed group of seasoned airmen who deliver planes to the nation's air bases.

"The Courage of Beulah" was an account of Beulah Fisher, a blind girl who became an honor graduate at the University of Kansas. Beulah, despite her outstanding record in college, had been unable to get a job.

"Models Who Live Alone" told the story of the public and private lives of some leading Negro models in New York City.

The advertising in Our World is similar to that in Ebony. Some national companies buy advertising space and Negro models are used almost exclusively. However, there are some low quality advertisements selling get-rich-quick schemes, questionable books and records, and magic dice and cards. Of course, there are the usual advertisements for skin whiteners, hair straighteners, and other preparations to make the Negro look less like a Negro. The advertising of these items seems to contradict the expressed purpose of the Negro press, that is, to champion Negro rights and make Negroes proud of their race. The advertising of these products and services probably bring much needed revenue to the Negro magazines.

A discussion of Negro magazines would not be complete without some consideration of how these magazines also

emphasize the sensational. Some of the remaining Negro magazines carry both the sensational and ego-building articles and some, the sensational altogether. One of these featuring both is Tan, published by the John H. Johnson Publishing Company (publisher of Ebony). In addition to articles which are designed to give valuable information to Negroes, this magazine also plays up the sensational. Such an article entitled "I Sinned Against My Husband" was as follows:

Having a child, especially the first one, should be the most glorious experience in any woman's life, I know. But it wasn't in mine. On that chill morning in April, when they laid my newborn son in my arms for the first time, there wasn't any feeling of joy, and sacred gladness in me, the way there should have been. There was only a deep down misery and shame...the remorseful knowing that my child should never have been born.

Oh, why couldn't Jim see the guilt in my face, I wondered, as I gazed up into his own kind, beaming one. And why hadn't I the courage to blurt out to him, at last, the degrading truth that I had committed the most despicable of all crimes a wife can commit against a good and loyal husband?⁴⁵

The titles of other articles featuring sensationalism were as follow:

"My Wife Was A Call Girl" (July, 1955, p. 35).

"Gambler's Choice" (July, 1955, p. 26).

"Mail order Marriage" (July, 1955, p. 30).

⁴⁵Tan, Vol. V, No. 10 (August, 1955), p. 27.

"I Was The Prophet's Girl Friend" (July, 1955, p. 36).

"Can A Nice Girl Be Popular?" (July, 1955, p. 14).

"Second-Hand Husband" (August, 1955, p. 16).

"Forbidden Fruit" (August, 1955, p. 22).

"Stardom Broke My Heart" (August, 1955, p. 29).

"Teen-Age Hellcat" (August, 1955, p. 30).

"I Was Sucker For Mink" (August, 1955, p. 24).

"Women Bachelors Prefer" (August, 1955, p. 35).

"Why Some Women Are Frigid" (August, 1955, p. 38).

Bronze Thrills, published by the Good Publishing Company, Ft. Worth, Texas, is a magazine that attempts to appeal altogether through the sensational. Not only are the stories and features of this variety but the advertisements fall under the same category. There are no advertisements by the large national cigarette and liquor companies but plenty of advertisements appear for products such as questionable books and records, magic dice, and get-rich-quick schemes.

An example of the sensational stories entitled, "Married to a Homosexual" is as follows:

Long ago, when I was a little girl living with my parents on a farm in the fertile Saginaw Valley country of Michigan, the word "fairy" was enough to evoke in my child's mind pictures of wee, happy folk with delicate wings whose function was to bring dimes and sweets in exchange for lost baby teeth slipped under one's pillow or beneath a rug.

Today, hearing the same word brings back to me memories so shocking and painful that I occasionally feel that they are but the residue of a troubled dream.

Being more rational, I realize that there are no such things, they are the black memories of a real experience too, too dreadfully real!⁴⁶

The titles of some additional articles that featured the same kinds of material as follow:

"I Dealt With Sex" (October, 1955, p. 11).

"I Hurt the Man I Loved" (October, 1955, p. 29).

"My Sister's Keeper" (October, 1955, p. 15).

"No Good Woman" (October, 1955, p. 21).

A regular weekly feature in Bronze Thrills entitled "The Mystery Man" answers problems. Those with problems are requested to accompany their problems with a \$2.00 fee. Part of one issue's contributions are as follow:

Dear Man of Mystery:

My husband made a four A.M. creep and he tried to tell me he had gone to the corn field.

I would like to know if he did go to the field or did he go to meet a woman?

Mrs. E. C.
Belzoni, Miss.

Dear Mrs. E. C.:

I certainly would not accept that one. I am sure that he could find time to go to the corn field from six a.m. until six p.m.

⁴⁶Bronze Thrills, Vol. IV, No. 10 (October, 1955), p. 6.

Simply have him to know that you don't appreciate his late visiting hours to the corn field.

There certainly is a very good reason for those late hours.

Man of Mystery

Dear Man of Mystery:

Perhaps you can advise me. I have been in love with a man for a number of years, and he has been in love with me. He doesn't seem to care anymore. Do you think his wife is keeping him from me, or is there something else?

I have one child and we live with my mother. I do wish you could bring my lover back to me. Enclosed is \$2.00.

Mrs. B. J. A.
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mrs. B. J. A.

Instead of sitting around wondering whether he is interested or not, I would dress very carefully and have a date with someone else. Let him see that you don't have to sit and wait for him.

Don't ever let a male think that you won't take a gander at other males. There are times we fail ourselves by not keeping our appearances up. All men like neatness and the smell of cologne. You have a full time job keeping your man interested in you.

Man of Mystery

Some examples of the advertising in this magazine were as follow:

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 7.

"LOVE BLISS" Sterling Engagement and Wedding Ring. 12 imitation diamonds. Both \$2.95.

EXQUISITE COCKTAIL WATCH AND RING. Feel like a Hollywood Star when wearing this outfit. Stunning, Gorgeous Swiss Watch and Gleaming Exquisite Bracelet has over 50 Flashing White Sparklers that draw attention. Sterling Silver Engagement Ring set with 7 fiery White Brilliants. A beautiful Gift. \$9.95.

"LOVE FOREVER" ALLOVER GLAMOUR. OUR BEST HUMAN HAIR. Romantically styled. Very long. Covers entire head. No matter how short or thin your hair looks cover it all over with this long Glamour. State shade. Jet-black, off-black, or dark brown. \$9.95.⁴⁸

Many other Negro magazines are on the market but these are the principle ones read by the 100 Negroes interviewed in this study.

The Use of These Written Channels of Communication

The members of Group A made little use of written channels of communication. Of this educational category one sociologist said, "books, periodicals, and newspapers, social movements and ideas (except for the Negro problem), play insignificant roles in their lives."⁴⁹ A small percentage of the members of this group used some written channels by having others read to them. One woman said

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁹Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 228.

that she read to her husband sometimes but indicated that she did not tell him much because it "only worried him." Some who could not read said that they had looked at the headlines in the newspapers and the pictures in newspapers and in magazines. When asked what they liked most to have read to them, most of them answered, "news about the stealin's, killin's, and other happenin's." However, this group made little use of the written channels of communication.

Group B, those with no more than four years of formal education,⁵⁰ employed the written channels of communication somewhat more than Group A, but there were still some in this educational group who utilized no written channels, and others who made only limited use of them.

More than 50 per cent of this group read at least one newspaper and the Bible while less than 20 per cent read any magazines. Some women in this category seemed to have educated themselves by reading widely. The answers some of these self-taught women gave to the general questions seemed to indicate considerable insight.

The members of this group seemed interested mostly in reading about "deaths, accidents, and things that are

⁵⁰ By our present standards, some of these people would have less than one year of formal education. Some of these people were educated in rural schools during the time when the annual school term was only six weeks.

coming to pass." Some seemed interested in sports, the comics, and the business section. After some probing, the interviewer determined that the "business section" meant the "want-ads."

Group C used the written channels of communication more than the two previous groups. Many of this group read more than just the "stealin's, killin's, and wrecks." A high percentage said that they liked to read the entire newspaper. When asked what parts of the newspapers he liked best, one male respondent said, "what's happenin' in different parts of the world that is good or bad. I can't read too well but to look at it gives you a better understandin' of how to go about." Another replied, "I read news on politicians because there ain't no truth in politics. I read to get the man's way of thinkin'." Other informants named special sections of the newspapers including the editorials.

A higher percentage of Group C read magazines. The women said that they liked to read the stories; the men said that they liked sports; both indicated that they liked stories about famous personalities, both white and Negro; and both said that they read about religious and political activities and news concerning our armed forces. One male respondent said that he "read in the Readers Digest how the nurses take care of our soldiers." The members of this group also expressed a desire to read about things

happening to members of their own race. One female informant said that she liked to read magazines because she liked "to know what's happening among colored."

Members of Group C apparently employed the written channels of communication to better advantage than did the previous groups. They seemed to read with considerably more insight.

The members of Group D used the written channels extensively. Nearly all of these people said that they read all of the newspapers including the editorials. They read non-fiction as well as fiction articles in the magazines. The women liked to read the stories and the men liked to read about sports and sports figures. Sixty-two per cent of the Negroes in this group voted and liked to read about political activities in both newspapers and magazines. Some took little interest in the written channels but only a small percentage indicated that they did no reading at all.

Group E utilized all of the written channels of communication. Nearly all of the members of this group read both Negro and white newspapers and magazines and since they subscribed to them, they read them regularly and while the news was still timely. Many of those in the previous groups acquired their newspapers and magazines from the places where they worked.

The members of Group E were more selective in their reading. They bought certain magazines because they featured certain kinds of materials. A high percentage of the members of this group read professional journals and bulletins. They also read books, both fiction and non-fiction. These college-trained Negroes seemed to be more critical readers. In the interviews they did not hesitate to express their opinions of topics about which they had read or about the written channels themselves. The members of this educational category used written channels of communication more than any of the other groups.

Summary and Conclusions

1. A high percentage of the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes has access to at least one Negro and one white newspaper and/or magazine.

2. The higher the level of education, the more the written channels of communication were used.

3. Except for the highest educated Negroes in this study books were read little. However, a high percentage of the lower educated read the Bible.

4. The Negro newspapers feature two types of material primarily, the sensational and ego-building. Included in the sensational are stories of crime, domestic troubles, discrimination incidents, and some race problems. Included

in the ego-building articles are accounts of famous Negro athletes and entertainers, achievements made by Negroes in the fields of religion, politics, business, and other lines of endeavor, and anything else that glorified the position of the Negro.

5. The emphasis on ego-building seems to suggest the general presence of an inferiority complex and an effort on the part of certain publishers to combat it.

6. The Negro newspapers and magazines feature Negro society news which, especially in the southern community, is not carried by the white newspapers or magazines.

7. The Negro newspapers and magazines also carry many articles which give information and advice to Negroes. This information and advice seems to be designed to help the Negro become a better citizen and improve his standard of living, and sometimes urges him to work harder to achieve the "freedom he says he wants."

8. The lower educational groups employed the written channels of communication to follow the sensational news while those in the higher educational categories were interested more in the educational parts of the newspapers and magazines. The higher educated Negroes seemed to have read a greater variety of periodicals and seemed to have had a better understanding of what they had read.

CHAPTER III
THE ORAL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED
BY 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

The oral channels of communication discussed in this chapter include radio, television, hearsay, and public meetings of all kinds. The material is divided into two sections; a summary of the oral channels and the manner in which they are used by the members of each educational category, and a thematic analysis of some oral channels of communication.

Summary of Oral Channels and their Use

Table VII shows the percentage of the Negroes interviewed in each educational category who listen to radio, watch television, and had a telephone. A high percentage of the Negroes interviewed listened to both the Negro and white radio stations. However, a comparatively small percentage of the college-trained Negroes listened to the Negro stations.¹ The higher the level of education of these Negroes, the more they used television. The reason for this difference in television is quite possibly more

¹Some of the people in this educational category said frankly that they did not like the kinds of programs featured by WXOK.

TABLE VII

A SUMMARY OF SOME ORAL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Radio stations (white)	70 (7)	59 (19)	75 (27)	77 (10)	100 (9)	72 (72)
Radio stations (Negro)*	60 (6)	84 (27)	83 (30)	85 (11)	44 (4)	78 (78)
Television	20 (2)	19 (2)	33 (12)	69 (9)	89 (8)	37 (37)
Telephones	70 (7)	72 (23)	81 (29)	77 (10)	100 (9)	78 (78)

*The Negro radio station in Baton Rouge and the one in New Orleans were both owned and managed by white personnel. The station announcers are Negroes. However, stations WXOK and WBOK will be referred to as Negro stations because they design their programs specifically for Negroes.

economic than educational, for most of those in the lower educational levels were also in the lower economic status. A small percentage of those who did not own television sets indicated that they had visited people who owned them.

Other oral channels of communication are organizations to which these Negroes belong. Table VIII gives a summary of the organizational affiliations of the members of each educational category.

Most of the Negroes interviewed belong to a church. The Negroes interviewed attended 40 different churches: 26 Baptists, 6 Methodists, 2 Catholics, and 6 other churches representing small denominations (see Table IX). The list of churches is as follows:

Baptist

Beula Baptist	Newark Baptist
Greater Beula Baptist	New Prospect Baptist
Israelite Baptist	New Saint John Missionary Baptist
Little Rising Sun Baptist	New Salem Baptist
McKowen Baptist	New Sunlight Baptist
Macedonia Baptist	Progressive Baptist
Mount Calvary Baptist	Rock Zion Baptist
Mount Gideon Baptist	Saint John's Baptist
Mount Pleasant Baptist	Saint Luke Baptist
Mount Zion First Baptist	Shilo Baptist
Nazarene Baptist	Tabernacle Baptist
New Bethel Baptist	True Love Baptist
New Guide Baptist	Union Baptist

Methodist

Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal	Colored Methodist Episcopal
Alpine Chapel Methodist	Neely Methodist
Bethel African Methodist Episcopal	Saint Marks Methodist

TABLE VIII

A SUMMARY OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

ORGANIZATIONS	No Schooling		1 thru 4 yrs.		5 thru 8 yrs.		9 thru 12 yrs.		13 yrs. and over		Totals
	%		%		%		%		%		%
Churches	100	(10)	87	(28)	94	(34)	100	(13)	100	(9)	94 (94)*
Benevolent societies	50	(5)	16	(5)	25	(9)	23	(3)	none		22 (22)
Lodges	20	(2)	6	(2)	17	(6)	77	(10)	11	(2)	12 (12)
Social, Professional, and Service organizations**	10	(1)	9	(3)	11	(4)	23	(3)	78	(7)	18 (18)

*Of these, 89 per cent were church members.

**These include membership in teachers' organizations, labor unions, NAACP, social sororities, etc.

TABLE IX

A SUMMARY OF THE CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES	BAPTIST	METHODIST	CATHOLIC	OTHERS	TOTALS
	%	%	%	%	%
No schooling	90 (9)*	10 (1)	none	none	100 (10)
1 thru 4 years	59 (19)	16 (5)	6 (2)	6 (2)	87 (28)
5 thru 8 years	72 (26)	3 (1)	8 (3)	11 (4)	94 (34)
9 thru 12 years	61 (8)	23 (3)	16 (2)	none	100 (13)
13 years and over	33 (3)	44 (4)	23 (2)	none	100 (9)
TOTALS	65 (65)	14 (14)	9 (9)	5 (6)	94 (94)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated that they attended churches affiliated with the denominations listed.

Catholic

Maringouin Catholic

St. Xavier Catholic

Others

Berean Seventh Day Adventist
 Church of Christ Holiness
 Church of God and Christ

Church of God and Christ
 (Scotlandville, La.)
 Church of God in Christ
 Saint Daniel Spiritual No. 2

These oral channels of communication offer those in all educational categories an opportunity to gain at least a limited amount of information about current happenings. In addition to considering how many channels were used, it seems to be significant to know something of how these channels were used by the members of each educational category.

Group A - The Negroes with no formal education relied almost entirely on oral channels for what little information they had. The reader will remember that even their use of written channels involved oral communication because someone had to read to them and interpret the material. Almost none of these people had television sets because they could not afford the purchase price or the cost of maintenance.

Seventy per cent of the uneducated Negroes had radios, although their radios sometimes remained out of order for long periods of time. Most of this group were regular listeners to one or more news programs from both white and Negro stations. Other than news, more than half said they

listened only to music over WXOK. A few said they liked to listen to ball games and fights or watch them on television when they had the opportunity. One woman stated that the only thing she used her radio for was the baseball game and as soon as the game was over, she turned off the radio. About television she said, "I don't watch because some people watch the programs and then try to imitate them." A male respondent who said that he had no radio, telephone, or television remarked, "I just get the time from a neighbor."

Church - One type of oral channel of communication to which they were exposed regularly was the church. The largest of these church groups were members of the Baptist church, a situation which exists throughout the South and to a great extent throughout the entire country. Nearly all of these Negroes said that their ministers "take a text from the Bible and just preach," giving advice on how to live each day. Some apparently had had difficulty understanding their ministers and indicated a preference for the old emotional type sermons that give little practical information but stir up the emotions. One such opinion was expressed by a 54 year old female respondent who said, "I don't know what he's talking about. I guess you would say that he does more teachin' than preachin'."

Group B - Radio and T.V. - In Group B, 84 per cent listened to WXOK; 59 per cent, to one or more white radio

stations; and only 19 per cent had television sets, although some of the others occasionally had access to a television set. Nearly all of this group listened to one or more news programs on both Negro and white radio stations although they relied mostly on the white stations for the news. The Negro station had only spot newscasts, with no regular news programs nor any news commentaries. Also, this station was not on the air in the evening when many of these people said they listened to the news.

In addition to the news, the members of Group B liked musical programs including hymns, spirituals, blues, and jive, most of which were heard on WXOK. Some of these Negroes liked to listen to the sports programs. Those who had television sets indicated that they liked to watch baseball games and especially boxing matches.

Church - Eighty-eight per cent of Group B indicated that they attended church, the majority being Baptists. Most of them said that their ministers gave them advice on how to get along with other people, to educate their children, and to take part in civic affairs and vote. They said further that the ministers did not tell them for whom to vote but did advise them to study the candidates carefully. One woman said that her minister, "just stands up after reading the Scriptures and talks. My people wouldn't call that preaching. He is interested in segregation. He says that all men are not created equal and we

may as well face it." Another woman said that, "he takes a text from the Bible and teaches. Some don't like it. They want the loud sermons. He talks about education, voting, etc." Another respondent who belonged to one of the small denominations said about the sermon her minister preached: "Different members get up and talk and he get up afterwards and desponds [sic]. He explains the Scriptures."²

Lodges - A small percentage of the Negroes in Group B were members of lodges. Occasionally a member of this group was found who was active in Negro service organizations. One notable case was a 59 year old woman who was retired from Louisiana State University where she had worked as a maid in one of the dormitories. Her husband was retired from Standard Oil and while they were in a low educational category, they had an adequate income. This woman was active in the Women's Society of Christian Service, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Woman's Temperance League. However, she did not belong to a lodge and expressed the opinion that "colored people waste too much money on such."³ She said that she

²This church was not visited but another of the same denomination was, and the service was very much as this interviewee had described it.

³A number of Negro leaders have expressed this same opinion.

visited a white woman who lived one or two blocks away and talked to her about material she read in the newspapers or heard on the news programs. She indicated that anything she did not understand she asked her white friend to explain. Others in this group indicated that they talked about current events with the people where they worked. Some of the domestic workers at Louisiana State University who were interviewed indicated that they frequently talked about current events with the students where they worked.

While they may have experienced difficulty in understanding the information they got, the members of Group B had access to most of the available oral channels of communication.

Group C - In Group C, 75 per cent said they listened to one or more white radio stations; 83 per cent, one or more Negro radio stations; 81 per cent had telephones; and 33 per cent had television sets. The use made of these channels differed little from Group B. Most of these Negroes listened to a greater variety of programs than those in Group B.

As in the other groups, the majority of these people attended Baptist churches. In contrast to the other groups, however, more of the small protestant denominations were represented. A comparatively high percentage

of these people said that their ministers delivered more the instructional type sermons. Many said that their ministers talked about educating children, voting, and taking part in community affairs. Some said that they discussed candidates and even named the best ones. One male informant said about his minister: "He preaches practical sermons. He talks about education. He doesn't take part in political affairs and has been scored for this. He says to depend on God more and politics less." Another male respondent made the following comment about his minister: "His sermons are mostly teaching. He used to preach about fifteen minutes and then get off on something else. We told him to preach the fifteen minutes and stop." A female interviewee said that her minister "talks about raising children so they won't have to go to the reformatory. He talks about voting and other things to do in everyday life." These people seemed to understand more what their ministers said.

Church - In Group D, the Baptist still predominated but the percentage of Methodists and Catholics was increased. None of these Negroes were members of the small radical denominations. All of the members of this group agreed that their ministers' sermons were more instructional than emotional. They indicated that their ministers used selections from the Bible as bases for the advice they gave.

Radio and T.V. - In this category the percentage of those using television increased and the percentage of those using radio decreased. However, many of those with television sets indicated that they liked to listen to news programs on white radio stations and some of the music programs on the Negro radio station. Some of the female informants said they liked to hear the serial programs on the white radio stations. With the exception of the news and an occasional political speaker, those in the previous groups used radio and television for entertainment almost entirely. One 39 year old female respondent said that she liked to watch the stories, dramas, and news on television. She further stated, "I like very much the program 'You Are There.' I have learned a lot about history. I was never very good in history because I didn't like it but this makes it interesting." The members of this category seemed better able to associate some of the information they had gained at school with programs and news about current events that they heard on radio and saw on television. They seemed not to listen aimlessly to the instrument but to be more selective in their choice of programs.

Group E - The college trained group showed a sharp decline in the use of the Negro oral channels. A high percentage of these people indicated that they did not care for the programs carried by the Negro radio stations.

One 55 year old female informant said, "I never listen to WXOK because they don't sing the spirituals as they should be sung." Another respondent said that she did not listen to WXOK because she liked symphony music rather than jazz. One young male interviewee said that he seldom listened to WXOK except on Sunday to the program, "The People Speak," an education and information program. Some of the members of this group felt that the Negro radio station featured programs only for the uneducated Negroes. All of these college-trained Negroes listened to one or more white radio stations. Nearly all of them were regular viewers of television and watched both entertainment and information programs.

The church affiliations of the members of this group differed from the other groups. The Baptist did not predominate and there was a high percentage of Catholics among them. Most of those who were Baptists attended the large downtown church where the order of service and the training of the minister was about the same as that in most white Baptist churches. The same was true of most of those who belonged to the Methodist church. The Catholics attended a white church and had a white priest. The sermons in all of these churches were more instructional although the ministers certainly did not completely ignore emotional appeal.

Many of the Negroes in this educational category were active in other types of organizations. Table VIII shows that a comparatively high percentage of these people belonged to one or more social, professional, or service organizations. Some of these organizations discussed topics pertaining to Negroes, and engaged speakers, both white and Negro, to discuss race problems. All in all, these people seemed to make the best use of the oral channels of communication.

Thematic Analysis of Some Oral Channels of Communication

A. Radio

A number of radio stations were within range of the Negro listeners interviewed. The chief concern here is with the one Negro and four white stations in Baton Rouge: WJBO, NBC; WAFB, MBS; WLCS, ABC; and WIBR, independent. Other than these stations a small percentage of Negroes listened to WWL (white) and WBOK (Negro) in New Orleans.

The following discussion is based on the radio listening habits of the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes during June, July, and August, 1955. Radio programs vary with the season of the year, e.g., during the summer months one of the local white stations carries a daily broadcast of a major or minor league baseball game. During the time the interviews were being conducted for this study, C. E. Hooper, Inc. made a survey for station

WXOK in order "to determine the Share of Radio Audience in Negro and White homes in Baton Rouge, La."⁴ The radio is divided for the entire day as is shown in Table X.

A more detailed summary of the listening audience is shown in Table XI. This table shows the percentage of Negroes and whites listening to each Baton Rouge radio station between 7:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. This period of the day was selected because these were the hours during which WXOK broadcasts. Table XII is a typical weekday schedule of radio programs heard during the summer period when the interviews for this study were made. Only the programs between 7:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. have been included.

Certain facts from these tables seem significant to this study. From 7:00 to 8:00 A.M. the percentage of Negroes who listened to WJBO was unusually high compared to other white stations, ranging from 26 per cent to 32 per cent. During this time, there were two news programs, one national and one local news report. The interviews indicated that the Negroes liked to hear the news and many preferred the news programs on WJBO.

⁴"Hooper Special Report" (unpublished), New York: C. E. Hooper, Inc., p. 2. "The regular duplex-coincidental method was used in obtaining measurements reported here. In addition, each listening home was asked 'is this a white or a Negro home?'"

TABLE X

THE DIVISION OF THE RADIO LISTENING AUDIENCE IN BATON ROUGE, LA.*

TIME		WAFB	WIBR	WJBO	WLCS	WXOK
Monday thru Friday	White	8.9**	38.7	13.8	16.2	14.8
7:00 A.M.-12:00 Noon	Negro	3.5	5.1	16.7	13.6	51.0
Monday thru Friday	White	16.7	29.1	19.8	9.9	11.9
12:00 Noon-6:00 P.M.	Negro	16.9	13.5	17.1	2.4	39.5

*"Hooper Special Report" (Unpublished), New York: C. E. Hooper, Inc., p. 2.

**These numbers represent the percentage of radio audience listening to each station. WWL, New Orleans, included in the Hooper survey, has not been included here.

TABLE XI

A DIVISION BY THIRTY-MINUTE PERIODS OF THE RADIO LISTENING AUDIENCE IN BATON ROUGE, LA.*

TIME PERIOD		WAFB	WIBR	WJBO	WLCS	WXOK
Monday thru Friday 7:00 A.M. - 7:30 A.M.	White	13.4***	35.7	27.7	8.9	8.0
	Negro	3.7	3.7	25.9	**	66.7
Monday thru Friday 7:30 A.M. - 8:00 A.M.	White	11.2	32.7	21.4	15.3	9.2
	Negro	5.9	2.9	32.4	5.9	52.9
Monday thru Friday 8:00 A.M. - 8:30 A.M.	White	12.2	48.9	15.6	12.2	7.8
	Negro	**	6.1	12.1	12.1	66.7
Monday thru Friday 8:30 A.M. - 9:00 A.M.	White	12.0	43.4	12.0	15.7	15.7
	Negro	**	**	12.9	12.9	74.2
Monday thru Friday 9:00 A.M. - 9:30 A.M.	White	7.4	44.4	4.9	30.9	7.4
	Negro	**	3.6	3.6	25.0	64.3
Monday thru Friday 9:30 A.M. - 10:00 A.M.	White	3.2	48.4	4.2	18.9	18.9
	Negro	**	6.5	9.7	25.8	41.9
Monday thru Friday 10:00 A.M. - 10:30 A.M.	White	1.1	36.7	10.0	23.3	24.4
	Negro	**	**	21.1	31.6	36.8

Hooper Special Report (unpublished), New York: C. E. Hooper, Inc.

**Less than 0.1 per cent.

***These numbers represent the percentage of radio audience listening to each station. WWL in New Orleans, included in the Hooper survey, has not been included here.

TABLE XI (Continued)*

TIME PERIOD		WAFB	WIBR	WJBO	WLCS	WXOK
Monday thru Friday 10:30 A.M. - 11:00 A.M.	White	13.8	28.8	11.3	16.3	17.5
	Negro	**	**	17.6	23.5	41.2
Monday thru Friday 11:00 A.M. - 11:30 A.M.	White	1.4	46.5	11.3	16.9	18.1
	Negro	5.6	16.7	33.3	**	11.1
Monday thru Friday 11:30 A.M. - 12:00 Noon	White	10.9	26.4	14.5	8.2	21.8
	Negro	26.3	15.8	**	**	15.8
Monday thru Friday 12:00 Noon - 12:30 P.M.	White	12.8	21.3	20.2	9.6	12.8
	Negro	17.4	8.7	13.0	8.7	13.0
Monday thru Friday 12:30 P.M. - 1:00 P.M.	White	16.3	33.7	9.8	9.8	9.8
	Negro	20.0	11.4	20.0	2.9	20.0
Monday thru Friday 1:00 P.M. - 1:30 P.M.	White	16.9	33.7	7.9	7.9	7.9
	Negro	32.6	11.6	4.7	4.7	25.6
Monday thru Friday 1:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.	White	21.2	43.4	4.0	10.1	7.1
	Negro	21.6	16.2	**	2.7	40.5
Monday thru Friday 2:00 P.M. - 2:30 P.M.	White	30.5	19.5	12.2	17.1	14.6
	Negro	28.6	4.8	4.8	2.4	57.1

*"Hooper Special Report" (unpublished), New York: C. E. Hooper, Inc.

**Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE XI (Continued)*

TIME PERIOD		WAFB	WIBR	WJBO	WLCS	WXOK
Monday thru Friday 2:30 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.	White	25.0	27.5	26.3	8.8	10.0
	Negro	22.9	6.2	18.7	**	47.9
Monday thru Friday 3:00 P.M. - 3:30 P.M.	White	18.4	19.7	26.3	7.9	23.7
	Negro	11.9	**	33.3	7.1	40.5
Monday thru Friday 3:30 P.M. - 4:00 P.M.	White	10.2	6.1	44.9	12.2	22.4
	Negro	5.6	19.4	44.4	**	27.8
Monday thru Friday 4:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	White	10.0	20.0	42.5	10.0	7.5
	Negro	3.0	18.2	24.2	**	51.5
Monday thru Friday 4:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.	White	6.8	29.5	34.1	11.4	11.4
	Negro	33.3	43.3	23.3	**	26.7
Monday thru Friday 5:00 P.M. - 5:30 P.M.	White	8.1	43.5	27.4	4.8	4.8
	Negro	**	23.5	5.9	**	70.6
Monday thru Friday 5:30 P.M. - 6:00 P.M.	White	8.3	43.7	16.7	10.4	14.6
	Negro	17.2	13.8	6.9	**	58.6

*"Hooper Special Report" (unpublished), New York: C. E. Hooper, Inc.

**Less than 0.1 per cent.

From 9:00 to 11:00 A.M., WLCS picked up a comparatively large Negro audience during which time the station WLCS featured such stories as "My True Story," "Whispering Streets," "When a Girl Marries," "Companion," and "Ted Malone." Many of the Negro women said in their interviews that they liked to listen to the stories on WLCS.

Between 11:00 A.M. and 1:00 P.M., the percentage of Negroes listening to WXOK was comparatively low while the percentage of white listeners was comparatively high. During this period, WXOK broadcast hillbilly music for which most of the Negroes expressed a dislike.

At 1:00 P.M. a high percentage of both white and Negro listeners tuned to WAFB for the baseball game. Most of the Negroes who did not listen to the baseball game listened to the spirituals on WXOK.

At 3:00 P.M., WJBO again picked up a large Negro audience, this time for the afternoon serial programs such as "Backstage Wife," "Stella Dallas," "Young Widder Brown," etc.

From about 3:30 until 5:00 P.M. WIBR reached a comparatively large Negro audience with its "Blues and Jive" program.

Although the white radio stations cut into the Negro listening audience at certain times during the day, WXOK held the majority of the Negro listeners most of the day.

TABLE XII

A SUMMER WEEKDAY RADIO PROGRAM SCHEDULE*

TIME	WJBO	WLCS	WAFB	WIBR	WXOK
7:00	World News Roundup	Martin Agronsky	News: Eddie Bishop	B'fast with Burge	Diggie Doo Show
7:15	Southwest Serenade	Gene Nelson News	News: Eddie Bishop	B'fast with Burge	Diggie Doo Show
7:30	Capitol Coverage	B'fast Tm. Tunes, News	Eddie Bishop Show	B'fast with Burge	Diggie Doo Show
7:45	Rise and Shine	B'fast Tm. Tunes, News	Eddie Bishop Show	Burge; News	Diggie Doo Show
8:00	News, La. Headlines	Breakfast Club	Robert Hurleigh	B'fast with Burge	Diggie Doo Show
8:15	Coffee Time	Breakfast Club	Eddie Bishop Show	B'fast with Burge	Diggie Doo Show
8:30	Coffee Time	Breakfast Club	Eddie Bishop Show	B'fast with Burge	Cousin Carrie's House
8:45	Uncle Remus	Breakfast Club	Robert Hurleigh	Burge; News	Cousin Carrie's House
9:00	McBride, Peale	My True Story	Tony Martin	B'fast with Burge	Cousin Carrie's House
9:15	Joyce Jordan, M.D.	My True Story	Ginger Rogers	B'fast with Burge	Cousin Carrie's House
9:30	Doctor's Wife	Whispering Streets	News; Dick Powell	B'fast with Burge	Hillbilly House Party
9:45	Break the Bank	When a Girl Marries	Peggy Lee; News	Burge; News	News; House Party
10:00	Strike It Rich	Companion	Florida Calling	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
10:15	Strike It Rich	Ted Malone	Florida Calling	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
10:30	Phrase that Pays	Dial 910 for Music	Queen for a Day	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
10:45	Second Chance	Dial 910 for Music	Queen for a Day	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
11:00	Capitol Kitchen Club	Dial 910 for Music	News; Weather	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
11:15	Capitol Kitchen Club	Dial 910 for Music	Club 1460	B.Z.'s Platter Party	Hillbilly House Party
11:30	Club 1150	Dial 910 for Music	Club 1460	Country Boy	Hillbilly House Party
11:45	Club 1150	Dial 910 for Music	Club 1460	Country Boy	Hillbilly House Party

*Morning Advocate

TABLE XII (Continued)*

TIME	WJBO	WLCS	WAFB	WIBR	WXOK
12:00	News; Weather Report	Paul Harvey	Club 1460	Country Boy	Hillbilly House Party
12:15	Cap. Cov. Noon Ed.	Siesta Serenade	Club 1460	Country Boy	Hillbilly House Party
12:30	Pauline Frederick	News	Club 1460	News	Hillbilly House Party
12:45	Records at Random	Party Line Chatter	B'ham at New Orleans	Country Boy	House Party - News
1:00	Records at Random	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Meet Your Neighbor	Echoes from Heaven
1:15	Records at Random	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Meet Your Neighbor	Echoes from Heaven
1:30	Records at Random	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Meet Your Neighbor	Echoes from Heaven
1:45	Records at Random	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Meet Your Neighbor	Echoes from Heaven
2:00	Woman in Love	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Record Room	Diggie Doo Show
2:15	Woman in Love	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Record Room	Diggie Doo Show
2:30	Pepper Young's Family	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Record Room	Diggie Doo Show
2:45	Right to Happiness	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Records; News	Diggie Doo Show
3:00	Back Stage Wife	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Daily Devotions	Diggie Doo Show
3:15	Stella Dallas	Lou Millet	B'ham at New Orleans	Blues and Jive	Diggie Doo Show
3:30	Young Widder Brown	Lou Millet	Club 1460	Blues and Jive	Diggie Doo Show
3:45	Woman in My House	Lou Millet	Club 1460	Blues and Jive	Diggie Doo Show
4:00	Just Plain Bill	Dial 910 for Music	Club 1460	Blues and Jive	Diggie Doo Show
4:15	Lorenzo Jones	Dial 910 for Music	Club 1460	Blues and Jive	Diggie Doo Show
4:30	Lone Ranger	Dial 910 for Music	Bruce Broussard	Blues and Jive	Spiritual Train
4:45	Lone Ranger	Dial 910 for Music	Bruce Broussard	Blues and Jive	Spiritual Train
5:00	Eddie Fisher Show	Dial 910 for Music	Orene Muse	Country Boy	Sign Off
5:15	Eddie Fisher	Dial 910 for Music	Spotlite Band	Country Boy	
5:30	La. Highlts. Spt. News	Bill Lee; Interlude	Freddie Martin	Country Boy	
5:45	World of Sports	Bill Stern	News; Sports	C. B., News	

*Morning Advocate

During the eleven hours surveyed by the Hooper Poll, WXOK held 40 per cent or more of the Negro audience 64 per cent of the time.

From Monday through Saturday WXOK carried only music, news, advertisements, and announcements. Any Negro club, church, or other organization was permitted to make announcements free of charge. The only requirement was that these organizations write out their announcements and keep them brief. On Sunday, in addition to musical programs, WXOK broadcast a church service and a thirty-minute information program entitled, "The People Speak." This program was informative and no pressure groups were permitted to air their views, although the station was criticized severely by certain groups because of this policy.

The white stations had a few programs which featured Negroes, some of which were public service programs and some of which were purchased by various Negro groups. Some of the entertainment programs on these stations were designed for Negroes, e.g., the "Blues and Jive" record program over WIBR. For the most part, however, the programs carried by the white radio stations were scheduled with little or no particular concern for Negro listeners as such.

B. Television

While not viewed regularly by a majority of the Negroes in Baton Rouge, television is important enough to be

mentioned. The Negroes interviewed used television for entertainment primarily, although many Negroes seemed to view it as another outlet for their own entertainers. One of the responses given in the interviews was that "I like the Ed Sullivan show because he does not discriminate." Such names as Horace Heidt and Steve Allen were honored by the Negroes because these men had featured Negro entertainers in mixed shows, not primarily all-Negro revues. A local program, paid for by a local labor union, featured Negro and white speakers on the same program.

The Program Director of one local television station said that entertainment programs were being designed for the local Negroes. The Program Director of the other television station said that his station had had some programs for Negroes but had received considerable criticism because Negro performers had been used. Both television stations have featured programs publicizing work being done at Southern University and by various Negro service organizations in Baton Rouge.

The news telecasts, which the Negroes said they especially liked, featured news of both Negroes and whites. This was true not only of the national news programs but also of the local ones. Many local Negro functions were covered by a television cameraman, sometimes, however, at the request of the network. Most of the television programs, as in the case of radio, were designed with little or no consideration for the preferences of Negro viewers.

C. Negro Churches

A major oral channel of communication and one that may well be the most important one is the Negro church. According to Table VIII, the Negro church reached 94 per cent of those interviewed for this study. The Negro churchgoers were divided into many small congregations. In Baton Rouge Negro churches outnumber white churches although the whites outnumber the Negroes about three to one. There are 54 Baptist churches alone compared to a total of about 80 white churches of all denominations. A telephone survey of some of the Negro churches showed that the number of members on the church rolls ranged from 22 to 980 with the majority of the churches having fewer than 200. Ministers generally agree that less than half of the members on the rolls attend church services.

The majority of Negroes interviewed attended Negro Baptist and Methodist churches (see Table IX). All but 3 of the 54 Baptist churches in Baton Rouge belonged to the 4th District of the Louisiana Missionary Baptist Convention which is part of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated. The other 3 belonged to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., unincorporated. The majority of the Negro Methodist churches belong to the Central Jurisdiction, a Negro division of the Methodist Church. Exceptions are the African Methodist Episcopal and Colored Methodist Episcopal Churches.

A few of the Negroes interviewed belonged to other smaller branches of religious faiths. These churches were not affiliated with large denominations. A branch of the Church of Christ was recently organized in Baton Rouge and while it is getting its start, some members of a white Church of Christ have been supervising its administration.

Negro Ministers - A description of the Negro church would be most inadequate without a discussion of the Negro minister. Who is the minister? Where does he come from? What training has he had to qualify him to occupy this key position? There is no one answer to these questions. The Baptist minister may be anyone who wishes to organize a church and begin preaching. Even though it is affiliated with a larger organization, each Baptist church, an independent organization, does not have to abide by any rules except its own.⁵ This lack of rigid control may partially account for the large number of small Negro Baptist congregations in Baton Rouge and for the fact that the majority of local Baptist ministers have completed two years of high

⁵ This fact is true of both white and Negro Baptist churches. Although they are expected to follow Baptist doctrines, they make their own rules and hire and dismiss their ministers without consulting any higher authorities.

school or less.⁶ In Baton Rouge there are only two ministers who have Bachelor of Divinity degrees.⁷

Qualifications for Methodist ministers are much higher. The Methodist church requires that its ministers have some college and seminary training but this requirement is not always enforced in the small churches. The Colored Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Episcopal churches have no educational standards for their ministers.⁸

The Negro ministers in Baton Rouge are busy since most of them preach at two or three churches and some of them hold regular jobs because their churches cannot afford to pay a salary sufficient to pay even basic living expenses. All but three Baptist ministers in Baton Rouge preach at two or more churches.⁹ Many of these ministers who pastor two or three churches live outside the community so the only contact they have with their people is on Sunday when they are there to hold services. Few of the Negro ministers receive salaries but they get whatever is collected on Sunday. In some cases the offering amounts to less than

⁶Rev. T. J. Jamison, Interview, January 25, 1956.

⁷Ibid. The local Negro Baptist minister may attend a night school which is supported jointly by the white and Negro churches in Baton Rouge and is an extension service of Leland College.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

\$5.00.¹⁰ The ministers at the larger churches get a regular salary and a few of those who have more than one church get a regular salary from each church. It was estimated by one of the leading Negro ministers that the average monthly salary of the Negro ministers in Baton Rouge was about \$150.00.

The question is often asked, "How important is the Negro minister?" This question was asked of one of the highest educated Negro ministers in Baton Rouge and at the same time inquiry was made about the services that the minister and his church perform for the Negro people. His first statement was, "The minister moulds his group and every leader has his following." He continued, "My people ask me what lawyers to use, what doctors to go to, what property to buy, and what stores to patronize." "However," he pointed out, "the ministers are losing the influence which they had formerly because many of them are not prepared to cope with our modern world. They are too poorly trained to communicate outside of the pulpit about practical problems."¹¹ He stated that many Negroes from other churches had come to his office for advice because their own ministers could not counsel them on secular problems.

¹⁰ The author was present in one of the small churches when the offering for the minister amounted to \$2.95.

¹¹ Ibid.

Many of these who sought advice said that their ministers seemed uninterested in anything other than the Bible.¹²

Some of the Negro churches provided counseling services for their own members and other Negroes who desired to use them. One minister had reserved Tuesday of each week for those who wished to seek advice or consultation. The minister gave advice on marriage, buying food, rental problems, and crime cases. Once each month this church provided a dinner for the needy who would come. The church also paid the rent for the needy. Another church held a free clinic each Friday where Negroes could take their children for inoculations. Several of the churches provided youth centers or recreation facilities in an effort to combat juvenile delinquency.

The Negro ministers worked closely with law enforcement personnel and were consulted in some criminal cases involving Negroes. The judge and City Attorney turned certain cases such as marriage problems, non-support cases, and some juvenile offenders over to Negro ministers. While ministers were not parole officers, they had some offenders paroled to them.¹³

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

Negro Churches Visited - Some of the Negro churches were visited and the services were found to be much as the interviewees had described them. A brief description of five of these church services will give some first-hand information about the kinds of information these Negroes hear each Sunday.

The first church described is a member of one of the smaller and more radical denominations. Physically, the church appeared in bad repair with an unpainted wooden floor, unpainted wooden benches, and a small raised platform at the front where the minister sat and later delivered his sermon. Present were about 25 people, most of whom appeared to be over 50 years old and in a low income category.

The service began with testimonies, each person starting with a song and following with his testimony. The people used no song books, in fact, there were no books in the church. For some of the songs a young Negro girl went to an old piano and beat out a kind of rhythm which was difficult to connect in any way with the song being sung. After this part of the service, an offering was taken and the minister preached an evangelistic sermon, more emotional than informative. During the sermon, members of the congregation gave oral sanctions, hummed, and one man slept, waking just in time at the close of the service to

give a nickel to an offering taken to help a sister church. The service resembled closely the description given by an interviewee.

The next two visited were Methodist churches. The first was a frame building in good repair compared to most Negro churches. The congregation was composed of Negroes who seemed to have about average incomes. About 60 per cent of those present were women. They ushered, made up most of the choir, and one read announcements from the printed bulletin (of which each member of the congregation had a copy).

The minister took his text from the twenty-first chapter of John and preached about twenty minutes using two of three pages of typed notes. His interpretation of the text was not the usual one given but his people seemed satisfied.

The second Methodist church visited provided an unusual experience. The first part of the service, highly emotional in nature, was followed by a period of organ music and a collection of monies. Then, the minister began to preach, mumbling words which were difficult to understand. Finally, he was overcome emotionally and was unable to finish. The organist played again and the minister failed to resume. During the second musical interlude, ushers took up a second collection. This portion of the service was followed by reports from group captains who reported the amount of money received.

The last two churches visited were members of the Baptist denomination. Both occupied new buildings and apparently had more money for operating expenses than the others visited. One of these held services from 7:00 until about 8:45 A.M. on Sunday. The service attended began with singing and no musical instruments or song books were used. The singing was followed by a collection of monies and testimonies, many of which began with a song. After each Negro completed his testimony, he shook hands with the minister and deacons according to their rank. The minister closed this portion of the service by announcing that there was no more time for testimony. He then began to preach. Earlier he had read a passage of scripture and had made a few comments about it, but now he talked mostly about the testimonies just completed. He expressed dissatisfaction because the people had taken so long with their testimonies. He chided their poor church attendance. He recommended that each testimony not be begun with a long song. If they wanted to sing, he suggested that they should come on Wednesday or Thursday nights. He talked about fifteen minutes and then collected a second offering. Another sermon of about fifteen minutes followed on what seemed to be the Sunday School lesson, but, instead of teaching the lesson, he preached an emotional sermon. During the entire service,

the men sat on one side of the room and the women on the other.

The second Baptist church visited was a large downtown church. The order of service was the same as that followed in most white Baptist churches. The members of the congregation appeared to be in a comparatively high income category.

The minister, Rev. T. J. Jemison, preached from the Sixth Chapter of Galations, Verse Ten: "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially them who are of the household of faith." "America was founded by men of God and is a land of the free," he said. "A man can go as high as he chooses. There may be some temporary barriers but they will soon be removed." He continued, "I look with pity on Negro young men who are shirking their jobs when the boss turns his back. We must work hard to get to the top." He talked about boys and girls staying out of school and said, "You've got to have more in your head than your father or mother. The world recognizes brains and you have something that no one can take away from you." He also referred to national and world political affairs.

Each Sunday the Negroes seem to get a variety of information from their ministers, many of whom have little education and no special training for the ministry. Negroes find the church a place to express themselves and get some

comfort for their daily woes. They seem to place considerable confidence in their ministers because the ministers tell them what they want to hear, that is, that some day their problems will all be solved, if not in this world, in the next. As Gordon B. Hancock points out:

The Negro church has borne the weight of responsibility for Negro advance in that it was the clearing house for the race's aspirations. Even now there are no indications that the Negro church is not without a large place in the future affairs of the Negro race. Nearly all of the race's fine beginnings in almost every field of noble and useful endeavor were launched in the church. For better or worse the Negro church is fast shifting its emphasis from things emotional to things more essentially related to strivings and contrivings of the race in its broader community relations. The coming of the current new cults exemplified in "Father Divinism," "Daddy Gracism," and "Elder Michauxism" is largely the result of an awakening in the Negro church that precluded the religious satisfactions that form the basis of these new cults. The growth of these cults is highly complementary to the advance being made by the ordinary church with its advancing ministry. If somehow a ministry can be found for the Negro churches which represent the greatest moral and economic investment of the race, we shall have in these churches a lifting power the possibilities of which should inspire the at times faint of heart.¹⁴

D. Others

Other public gatherings such as political rallies, conventions, and meetings of various service organizations

¹⁴ Logan, Rayford W., What the Negro Wants (New York: Van Rees Press, 1944), p. 229.

were not as well attended as church by the Negroes interviewed. One of these organizations is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has a chapter in Baton Rouge. The local chapter had a paying membership of about 1,500 Negroes. It held bi-monthly meetings in one of the churches and the attendance averaged about 25 people per meeting.¹⁵

Some observations made at one of the large NAACP rallies will be discussed briefly. The meeting visited was held at the Capital High School auditorium on September 15, 1955. The announced purpose of the meeting was to discuss the segregation problem in Louisiana and to acquaint the Negroes of this area with the progress being made by the NAACP in its several segregation suits. The president of the local chapter, who has headed it since it was organized 27 years ago, gave the welcoming address in which he told what he had done and what NAACP had done in Baton Rouge and briefly stated the purpose of the organization. He pointed out that NAACP was organized 46 years ago by both Negroes and whites and "helps not only the Negro but the white race." He got applause and quite a laugh when he said, "Say what you please about the white man, but there's a lot of good in him." He told the story of a southern white man who had befriended him one night. Then, he introduced the principal speaker of the evening, A. P.

¹⁵Jemison, op. cit., Interview.

Tureaud, Louisiana NAACP lawyer, who "has good old bulldog tenacity."

Tureaud began with a brief history of NAACP pointing out that it was organized openly with no intention of intimidation or doing violence to anyone. "We need no sheets to cover us but use them to sleep on." He also stated, "This meeting is not a protest but a plain NAACP meeting known to the public." About the problem of segregation, he said, "It is now illegal and morally wrong to segregate according to race or color. Action in Louisiana is not so much police power as police state. There is no pressure on God's green earth that can stop the move to integration [applause]. The more pressure put on us, the easier it will be for us to get together and organize." Speaking of New Orleans, he stated, "They can build the finest schools in the city but it will not satisfy our demands for integration." Tureaud referred to a number of articles that have appeared in Louisiana white newspapers saying that "So and so's maid says that she doesn't want integration." He pointed out in answer to this, that Negroes who said these things knew how their employers felt and naturally would lie and tell them what they wanted to hear. "The Negro," he said, "is an expert at lying to the white people in order to tell them what they want to hear," and he advised them to go right on lying.

"The truth is," he continued, "We don't like segregation and will not submit to it" [applause]. In answer to the accusation by some that the Negroes are a fertile field for communism he said, "Let it be said that the Negro is a loyal American citizen and will fight within the framework of our government and no other government. We will fight peacefully in our courts and not on the sidewalks. If they can't take that, it's just too bad."

Following Tureaud, prominent local Negroes spoke on segregation in housing, transportation, medicine, political activity, recreation, labor, armed forces, religion, and schools. Each speaker told of the recent progress made in integration in his field.

About 900 local Negroes attended this meeting and contributed \$1,000 to finance a lawsuit against the East Baton Rouge school board to force integration. The meeting lasted about three hours but nearly half of the audience left after about two hours of speeches.

One other oral channel of communication that ought to be mentioned is hearsay. A source of hearsay seemed to be the white people for whom Negroes worked. Negro women indicated that they got information about current events, fashions, and local sales from the white women for whom they worked. Some of the Negroes interviewed indicated that they sought advice from white employers. In some cases

a white neighbor or friend was the source of such information. One Negro woman said that she took the newspaper to her white neighbor and asked her to explain the news. Of course, a source of hearsay information was the Negro himself as he used the telephone and met at social gatherings, on the job, and in his favorite loafing place.

Summary and Conclusions

1. The Negroes interviewed relied heavily on oral channels of communication.
2. The oral channels of communication were used more than the written by those in the lower educational categories, in fact, for those in the lowest educational category, the oral channels were virtually their only source of information.
3. The Negro church reached a higher percentage of these Negroes than any of the other oral channels of communication.
4. The majority of these people attended Baptist churches, which, generally speaking, seemed to have had the poorest trained ministers of the major denominations. There were more Negro churches than white churches in Baton Rouge although Negroes comprised only about one fourth of the population.
5. With the exception of the college-trained Negroes, only a small percentage of these Negroes interviewed were active in service or professional organizations.

6. The Negro seemed to have found the church a place to express himself and to get some comfort for his daily woes.

7. The Negroes interviewed did not seem to attend public and sectarian gatherings as faithfully as they did church services.

8. With the exception of WXOK, the radio stations in Baton Rouge gave little specific consideration to the likes and dislikes of Negro listeners. The same was true of the television stations.

9. The Negro minister seemed to have been a key figure because he was called upon to give advice to his people about a variety of subjects other than those related to their spiritual lives.

10. Many ministers seemed to have been losing this key position because they were not well enough trained to handle the problems of a modern world, and their members seemed to have lost confidence in their ability to give advice outside of the pulpit.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSES TO EIGHT GENERAL QUESTIONS

Chapters 2 and 3 summarized and described some of the written and oral channels of communication named by the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes in answering specific questions about what channels they used. In addition, an attempt was made to point out some of the filter points through which communication passes and some of the barriers that prevent its free flow. As a climax to the search for the channels of communication, the Negroes interviewed were asked the following Eight General Questions:

1. Where do you look for things to buy?
2. What do you think about the polio shots?
3. Do you think that it should be against the law to belong to the Communist Party?
4. What do you think of Eisenhower as President?
5. Do you follow sports?
6. What do you understand the recent Supreme Court decision regarding school segregation to mean?
7. Do you think that employers in Baton Rouge discriminate against Negroes in certain jobs?
8. Do you think that workers should strike in order to get what they want?

These questions provided an additional check on the means through which the respondents obtained their information.

The primary purpose of the Eight Questions was to discover whether the respondent possessed information about the topic and, if so, where he got it. In addition, an attempt was made to elicit from the respondent an opinion about the topic. Questions were selected about subjects that currently occupied a prominent place in the news or about things with which the informants might be familiar. No attempt was made to select questions that would have any greater appeal to one educational level than the others or questions that contained information about which one educational level could not possibly have any information. The questions were selected so that the interviewer could expect a response of some kind from each interviewee.

The responses to each question will be discussed in an effort to discover where the respondent got his information and how much understanding he had of his information.

Question One.-Where do you look for things to buy? e.g., clothes, food, appliances, cars, cigarettes, and insurance?

When responses were slow, the interviewer used additional questions like the following:

Do you ever see someone wearing clothes and ask him where he bought them?

Do you ever get advice from anyone before you invest in a new car or buy insurance?

Do you read the grocery advertisements in the newspapers?

Have you ever seen any of the grocery advertisements on television?

Do you try to find out where the best bargains are? How?

This question brought some kind of response from everyone interviewed. Since it was about a subject that was non-controversial, it aroused no suspicions about the motives of the interviewer.

In Group A (those with no formal education),¹ 50 per cent said that they obtained some information from newspapers;² 10 per cent, from handbills brought to the house;² 50 per cent, from radio advertisements; 20 per cent from television advertisements; 10 per cent said that they asked others; and 20 per cent went to different stores and looked for what they wanted. Thirty per cent of these interviewees said that they always bought from the same stores. After additional questioning of these Negroes,

¹A total of ten Negroes were interviewed in this group.

²The members of this educational category must have most of the written material read to them. However, some associate pictures and prices and some could read a few words and enough numbers to understand the prices. In the case of grocery advertisements, some of these Negroes could read the names of the grocery items and prices.

credit buying was discovered to have been the reason for their buying everything from the same stores. One respondent said, "I always deal with the man who can give me credit and I sometimes get a little news about sales from someone with a radio." The members of this group were in a low income bracket and in most cases stated that they bought close to home or used commercial transportation.

Group B (1 through 4 years of schooling)³ indicated that they had read more than Group A. In Group B, 59 per cent indicated they had used the newspaper; 44 per cent, radio; 9 per cent, television; 3 per cent, handbills brought to the houses; 9 per cent had asked someone else; 22 per cent had shopped at different stores for the best bargains; and 31 per cent said they always traded at the same stores. Here again there seemed to be some indication that credit was used when purchasing such items as groceries and clothes which were not ordinarily bought on long-term credit. One respondent said, "The man I rent from has a grocery store and I buy from him whether its cheap or not." Other responses included the following:

Golden Boy tells us on the radio. Stein's tells you about suits. He does a good job.

Don't pay any attention to the sales in the paper but do hear ads on the radio.

³ A total of 32 Negroes were interviewed in this group.

I go to the A & P store and Smiley's meat market. I don't have a special place to buy clothes and have never found anything I like in the ads.

Occasionally look at ads. I have certain places where they have something good. I would like to buy at Welsh and Levy but can't. (A downtown men's store).

Just go to the store when I have some money.

I go to Capitol store and Food Town. When I get ready for things, I just go buy them.

The last respondent seemed proud of the fact that she could go and get whatever she needed wherever she chose.

I listen to the ads on radio sometimes but mostly have a certain place to go. It must be close to home.

The lady I work for and I talk about the sales and the best places to buy and I read the paper where I work.

Just go to the places where I am accustomed to get the best deals.

I look for ads in the paper and see where bread is the cheapest. That's where I buy.

The members of this group seemed to be familiar with many of the channels of communication but low economic status appeared to handicap them in using them fully.

Group C (5 through 8 years of schooling)⁴ indicated that they used the channels of communication more than the two previous groups. In this group, 81 per cent said

⁴A total of 36 Negroes were interviewed in this group.

that they used newspapers; 42 per cent, radio; 22 per cent watched advertisements on television; 3 per cent read the handbills brought to the house; 3 per cent looked in the pages of the telephone book; 22 per cent asked other people; 14 per cent went to different stores and shops; 16 per cent buy from the same stores. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

Do business with places where I have accounts.
I sometimes read the ads in the newspaper
or ask a neighbor about where to buy.

I read the ads or listen to the radio and try
to get the cheapest. Sometimes I find out
from a friend the best places to buy.

I look in the newspaper to see which is the
cheapest and they broadcast about different
places on the radio.

Just look in the paper and you can get every-
thing you want. I sometimes call in and ask
if the store has what I want.

I look through the ads in the paper, ask
people who have bought what I want, and some-
times check with the firm in person.

I very seldom read the ads in the newspaper
or listen to them on the radio. I buy all
furniture at the same place and all groceries
at the same place.

I read the ads, hear them on the radio, see them
on TV, and ask my sister where the best
place to buy is.

Stores where you have accounts write you about
specials.

I go to Mr. Sam on East Boulevard.

I have a regular clothes account. I read the ads
in the paper for sales and watch ads on TV.

The members of this group indicated that they did some credit buying but it was of a different type. Not as many of them bought groceries on credit and many of them had regular accounts at the downtown stores. This means, as many of their responses showed, that they were interested in advertisements of all kinds. Most of the members of this group used two or more channels of communication. Most of these Negroes seemed to have had their own means of transportation and could take advantage of the sales at the different stores.

The most important difference between Group C and the two previous groups, so far as this study is concerned, was that more of these people seemed to seek out the advertisements with a definite purpose in mind. Most of the time this purpose was to discover where the sales were and sometimes where a particular brand of merchandise was sold. At any rate, many of them sought information rather than depending on chance to get information from some oral or written channel. However, some of Group C were handicapped in their use of these channels of communication in the same manner as the majority of the two previous groups.

In Group D (9 through 12 years of schooling),⁵ 96 per cent said that they used newspapers; 31 per cent, radio:

⁵A total of 13 Negroes were interviewed in this group.

31 per cent asked someone else; 8 per cent shopped around; 8 per cent used the yellow pages of the telephone book; 8 per cent read handbills brought to the house; and none bought from the same stores exclusively. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

We buy where we can get the best bargains.
We watch the ads on TV now but used to
look in the newspaper.

I use all of the stores. I just get in my
car and go to all of them. (She seemed
proud that she could do this).

I read the ads in the papers, listen to them
on the radio, watch them on TV, and talk
with other women as all women do. The
sales are never like they are advertised
but they get you to spend money you
wouldn't otherwise.

I read the ads in the paper and my daughter
and I discuss them sometimes.

I read the ads in the paper and listen to ads
every week on TV, especially for groceries.

As was the case with Group C, the members of this group seemed to have used the advertisements extensively and to have sought them with some purpose in mind. Their critical attitude toward the advertisements was illustrated by the respondent who said, "Sales are never like they are advertised." In addition, each respondent used two or more channels of communication and no one was bound to one or two stores by long-term credit. Most of those interviewed in this group were in a higher income category than

the members of the three previous groups and indicated that they had monthly accounts at the large downtown stores.

In Group E (those with at least one year of college training),⁶ 100 per cent said they used the newspapers; 11 per cent, radio; 22 per cent, television; 11 per cent shopped at different stores; 11 per cent bought from the same stores; and 78 per cent asked advice from others. Some of the responses received from this group were as follow:

I read advertisements. I always look at the automobile section and wish. I look at magazines to get the styles. (This was a male respondent).

I read the ads in newspaper and talk with people in my group. I read the ads on groceries and just go shopping. I plan to take Consumer's Guide.

I make comparisons of the ads in the newspaper and read the ads on the city buses. I sometimes ask a person where he got a suit and what he paid for it.

I read the ads and I get the Consumer's Guide for big things.

I buy all of my clothes from the three top stores. Sometimes I read the ads or talk with other people.

The members of Group E seemed to have done more than just read the advertisements; they studied them. The

⁶ A total of 9 Negroes were interviewed in this group.

statements, "I make comparisons of the advertisements in the newspapers," and "I read advertisements and I get the Consumer's Guide for big things," seemed to indicate that these Negroes sought information about things they planned to buy. In addition to reading the advertisements to find out prices, they looked for information about style and quality. These people had incomes above that of most other Negroes and were not bound to any geographical area by means of transportation restrictions.

This group used mostly written channels of communication. In addition to newspapers, they read many of the leading magazines which carried advertisements of leading national brands of merchandise. In these magazines the Negroes read about the style and quality of products they expected to buy. Except for the opinions of those they respected and admired, most of the oral channels of communication seemed to have had little effect on their buying. The Negroes in the higher income bracket seemed to work hard to maintain their status and to stay equal with or ahead of the other members of their level.

Table XIII summarizes the channels used by the members of each educational category. One important conclusion that can be drawn from this Table is that the higher the educational level the more written channels were used. The responses given by the Negroes interviewed seem to indicate

TABLE XIII

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING QUESTION ONE. WHERE DO YOU LOOK FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THINGS TO BUY?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	50 (5)*	59 (19)	81 (29)	96 (12)	100 (9)	74 (74)
Radio	50 (5)	44 (14)	42 (15)	31 (4)	11 (1)	39 (39)
Television	20 (2)	9 (3)	22 (8)	31 (4)	22 (2)	19 (19)
Handbills	10 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	8 (1)	none	4 (4)
Yellow pages of telephone book	none	none	3 (1)	8 (1)	none	2 (2)
Shop at different stores	20 (2)	22 (7)	14 (5)	8 (1)	11 (1)	16 (16)
Buy from the same stores	30 (3)	31 (10)	16 (6)	none	11 (1)	20 (20)
Ask someone else	none	none	none	31 (4)	78 (7)	11 (11)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

that the lower educated Negroes were interested primarily in "where is the lowest price," and "who will give me credit?" The responses of the higher educated Negro indicated that he was interested in style and quality as well as the price of the products he bought.

Question Two.--What do you think about the polio shots?

When responses were slow, the interviewer used additional questions like the following:

Where did you read or hear about the polio shots?

Have any of the children in your family taken the shots?

Do you know about the bill in Congress to provide free polio shots for everyone under twenty-one?

In Group A, 10 per cent said that someone had read to them about the polio shots from the newspapers; 50 per cent had heard about them on the radio; 20 per cent had watched television programs on the subject; and 30 per cent knew virtually nothing about the shots. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I heard about them on the radio and while I was in the hospital for an operation.

I have read about it in the newspaper. I have eight children but none of them have taken the shots.

I heard about them on the radio. One time they said they were good and one time that the shots hurt the children. My daughter who teaches took her school children for the shots.

I heard some people with little children talk about the shots.

I have heard about it on the news but haven't followed it too closely. I have no children of the age to take the shots.

Whenever a respondent showed little knowledge of the shots, and a lack of interest, the researcher asked him whether he had any children old enough to take the shots and in almost all instances, he had none. No one in this group would express an opinion. Only 30 per cent of this group were under 50 years old and most of them had had little or no contact with medical shots of any kind. In addition, these Negroes were limited by their inability to read and what little information they had came from oral channels of communication.

In Group B, 31 per cent said they had read about the polio shots in the newspaper; 56 per cent indicated they had heard about them on radio; 9 per cent had heard others talk about them; 13 per cent said they had seen television programs on the subject; and 22 per cent knew virtually nothing about them. One of the most interesting responses came from a woman who said that a vacuum cleaner salesman had told her about polio. He had told her that if she bought a vacuum cleaner, she would keep out the dust and dirt and thus protect her family against polio. Other responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I read about it in the Morning Advocate and heard about it on radio. I have "studied" about it and sometimes they give it and sometimes they stop it. What I want to know is, is it good?

I haven't followed it too much. I don't know why. I have heard it a little on the radio. They wiped out smallpox and surely can wipe out polio. People must trust it. We are too skeptical.

I have read about it. I read one place where it looked like it was doing harm and I don't know what to think about it. I was talking to a colored lady who has a child in the polio ward. It is nice to have an inexpensive place like that. I haven't followed it close enough to know how those 1800 monkeys came out.

I haven't kept up with it at all. I have no children to take it.

I heard some of the boys where I work talking about it.

Hear em' speakin' about those shots on radio.

Yes, we catch it often on the radio and TV. We have seen the doctors and hospitals telling about it on TV.

I heard it over the radio. Isn't that what we give dimes to?

I saw it in the newspaper but it seems to make a lot of children sick. I have six children but they have not taken them.

I heard about it over the radio and I'm 100 per cent with it. I read that polio dropped in the areas where the shots were given.

I heard about it at church. We were told to donate to the state health board to get help for children who had it. I read about polio in the Pittsburgh Courier.

The members of Group B who had no children or at least had none at the age to be vaccinated, knew little about this topic. Most of the information these people possessed came from oral channels of communication such as radio, television, and hearsay. Few of them seemed to show any real understanding of how or why the vaccine was used. It seemed that they had not been able to assimilate scattered facts they had picked up from the various sources. One good example came from an informant who said that he had not "followed it close enough to know how those 1800 monkeys came out." Many of these people seemed confused by the contradictory reports on the effect of the serum. A little afraid of anything new, many of them seemed more impressed by the bad news than by the good reports. Although many had information, they were reluctant to express any opinion on the merits of the shots.

In Group C, 50 per cent had read about the polio shot in the newspapers; 39 per cent had heard about them on the radio; 3 per cent had heard others talk about them; 22 per cent had watched television programs on the subject; 11 per cent had heard others talk about them; and 22 per cent knew virtually nothing about the subject. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I read a lot about it and wouldn't let my
little girl take the shots.

I sure have followed it up in the papers. I think they may find a way to overcome it. I read about a law for free shots.

My grandson has had the shots and I have read a little about it. I saw the TV program when they said it was safe to give it.

Sometime ago I was interested but the information they gave me from school I was not interested in. The children take shots when they go to school but I don't know if it is polio.

I read about it when it first came out. It is nice in a way but I don't like taking part of an animal and putting it in a human body because you never know how the children will come out.

I have read about it and think we should try it.

I think it's terrific. I see about it on TV.

I have kept up with it for a friend who has a little girl old enough to take it. She took the first shot but didn't take the second one because she had some bad symptoms.

My madam has told me about it. I think it comes from the blood. (She had a very strange explanation of polio most of which made no sense whatever).

I have kept up with the news but I don't care much about it. I pray about things and ask the Lord to help me understand. I don't run to things like that. I haven't signed yet for my grand-kid to take it.

I have heard about it on the radio but haven't followed it because I must pray for the sick to be healed.

I heard about it on the radio and it seems like sometimes they doubt it and sometimes they think it is O.K.

I have kept up with it on the radio and in the newspapers. My little sister took it and it didn't hurt her. I think it is wonderful.

The members of Group C expressed a variety of opinions as is illustrated by the responses listed here. They seemed to have based many of their opinions on incomplete facts or false information. For example, the woman who thought that parts of animals were injected into human beings had heard about the monkeys that were shipped to this country and drew her conclusion from this bit of information. Religion seemed to influence some in forming their opinions, on the one hand, causing some to be against the shots and on the other, encouraging some to donate to the polio foundation. Others in this group were influenced by the experiences of their own or others' children. Pleasant results from the vaccination usually brought a favorable reaction from the adults while unpleasant results frequently brought an unfavorable reaction.

The members of this group relied upon as many written as oral channels of communication. All of those in this educational category could read although their reading comprehension probably varied, as is illustrated by the differences in the understanding of the subject. Again, those who knew virtually nothing about the shots and who seemed uninterested had no children eligible to take them

and in most instances had no children in the public schools. In contrast to those who knew nothing about the subject were those who seemed to be well informed and who, in addition to having read and listened to news reports, indicated that they had tried to gain some understanding of the meaning and importance of the new polio vaccine.

In Group D, 54 per cent said they read about the polio shots in the newspapers; 46 per cent heard about them on the radio; 8 per cent had heard others talk about them; 54 per cent had seen television programs on the subject; and 15 per cent seemed to know virtually nothing about the topic. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I heard about it but I am not interested.
(This was a 34 year old female respondent with seven children).

I heard about it on the radio and television and read about it. I don't know much about it but if it's as good as they say, it should be wonderful.

I have read about it and heard about it on the radio. When my child took the shots, the teacher sent a paper home for me to read about it.

I have followed it closely on radio, television, and in the newspapers. At first I was afraid of it but think it is wonderful now.

I have read some about it but haven't kept up with it. I don't think you can put too much confidence in it.

The people in this group use both written and oral channels of communication. Although most of them seemed informed on the subject, a high percentage showed a lack of interest in it. Even those with small children said they were not interested, e.g., the 34 year old woman with seven children, the oldest of which was only about 12. Some older Negroes with no children showed more interest in and knowledge of the subject than some younger Negro parents with families.

One channel of communication expected to be found among respondents with children in public school appeared in this group, that is, an explanation of the shots sent home from school to the parents of children eligible to take them.

The superstition or great lack of understanding that existed in the previous groups was not encountered among the members of this group. These high school trained Negroes seemed to understand the information they had about the vaccine. Most of them indicated that they were willing to take the word of medical authorities and to follow the decisions of their school authorities about the safety and advisability of the shots for their children. Most of the members of this educational category used the channels of communication available to them.

In Group E, 100 per cent said they had read about the polio shots in the newspapers; 56 per cent had heard about

them on radio; 11 per cent had heard about them at a school orientation meeting for teachers, 44 per cent had seen television programs on the subject; and 11 per cent claimed no knowledge of the subject. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I have read about it but I have no technical information.

I have read quite a bit about it but I don't understand it. It appears to me that they should have done more before trying it out on children.

I have read articles about it but I am a little skeptical about it.

Yes, I've had to keep up with it because the children I work with take the shots. I saw the programs on television and read about it.

I have kept up with it closely because I teach first grade. It seems to me that they are mixed up a little.

The members of this college-trained group relied on written and oral channels of communication for information. Some of them seemed not to understand the information they had on the subject but the majority expressed an opinion. No one interviewed in this category had more than two children and a high percentage of these children seemed to have had regular medical care by a family doctor. The religious affiliations of these Negroes did not seem to have influenced their opinions as was the case with some of the lower educated respondents.

Of the 100 Negroes interviewed, the group with one or more years of college were the best informed and the group with four through eight years of formal education were the most fluent with their opinions. This latter group gave primarily three kinds of opinions; 100 per cent favorable, 100 per cent unfavorable, or disinterest. The group with no formal education was the least informed and those with one or more years of high school showed the least interest in the subject although they seemed to have been better informed than many of the other Negroes.

Question Three.-Do you think that it should be against the law to belong to the Communist Party?

Opinions were difficult to obtain on this question. Consequently, the line of questioning was changed and questions were asked about current events related to Communism and the activities of such Communist countries as Russia and Red China. Some of the questions used were the following:

Have you heard of a proposed law to make it illegal to belong to the Communist Party?

Do you like to follow the news on what Russia is doing?

Have you heard the news about Red China releasing eleven American prisoners?

Do you ever watch the television program, "I Led Three Lives"?

Do you know that this program is about Communism?

TABLE XIV

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES
FOR ANSWERING QUESTION TWO. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE NEW POLIO SHOTS?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	10 (1)*	31 (10)	50 (18)	54 (7)	100 (9)	45 (45)
Radio	50 (5)	56 (18)	39 (14)	46 (6)	56 (5)	48 (48)
Television	20 (2)	13 (4)	22 (8)	54 (7)	44 (4)	25 (25)
Hearsay	20 (2)	9 (3)	3 (1)	8 (1)	none	7 (7)
Know virtually nothing about it	30 (3)	22 (7)	22 (8)	15 (2)	none	20 (20)

* The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

These questions nearly always brought some kind of response although a few informants insisted they knew nothing about Communism. In some cases the interviewees seemed to indicate that to admit any knowledge of the subject might be incriminating.

In Group A, 10 per cent said that some of their information had come from newspapers read to them by others; 40 per cent had heard about Communism on the radio; 20 per cent had heard others talk about it; and 40 per cent knew practically nothing about Communism or any proposed law outlawing the Communist Party. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I watch "I Led Three Lives" on television.
I am in sympathy with the man who fights
communism on the program but I don't
know what communism is.

I have heard about it on the radio.

I think I heard about the law once.

My husband reads the news and tells me about
it.

These uneducated Negroes seemed to have little information on the subject. Their inability to read was a handicap because much of the detailed news on this topic was carried by the newspapers and magazines. A high percentage of this group knew about incidents which had been given as news bulletins on the radio, such as the release of the eleven American prisoners by Red China. Most of

them seemed more interested in the news about the woman who had two husbands as a result of the release than they were in the significance of the release itself.

In Group B, 16 per cent said they had read about the subject in the newspapers; 44 per cent said they had heard about it on the radio; 13 per cent gave television as a source of information; 13 per cent indicated that they had received some information through hearsay; and 50 per cent seemed to know virtually nothing about the topic. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I never have been able to understand what a communist is. If the law would be against us, I wouldn't want to be in on it.

I have read some but not much since the war.

I don't read much about it because I don't understand it. I did see in the paper about the eleven released prisoners.

What I want to know is, what is communism? I hear others talk about it but I don't know what it is.

I look at "I Led Three Lives" but I don't understand it. My daughter likes it and understands it. I don't understand any of the news about communism.

I have heard some people talk about it but I don't pay any attention to it.

I never listen at nothin' like that. You couldn't make such a law because you can't handcuff a man to make him do something.

My daughter reads to me about communism but does not give any explanation.

Several of the members of this group had heard various news reports about Communism and Communist activities but their comprehension of what they read or heard seemed low. Those who watched the television program "I Led Three Lives" appeared to do so just as they would watch any other entertainment program. Most of those who heard others talking about Communism said that they paid no attention to what others said and seemed to fear that people might think they were communists themselves. Most of these people frankly admitted that they knew nothing about Communism and did not understand the news they had heard.

In Group C, 39 per cent said they had read about Communism in the newspapers; 44 per cent had heard about it on radio; 11 per cent gave television as a source of information; 3 per cent heard others talk about it; and 44 per cent seemed to know virtually nothing about Communism or the proposed law. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I think it would be a good law. I heard the McCarthy hearings on the radio.

I read about it. They are still kicking about communism and I say it may be lawful to keep it out.

I have read about it and I think it would be a good thing to have the law. One fellow was talking nasty one day about what we don't have. I told him I could remember worse times with my grandma.

I have read very little. I watch "I Led Three Lives." I'm not in favor of foolin' with no communism.

I have read a good bit about it and heard it on the news programs. I try to understand it but don't. I like the program, "I Led Three Lives."

I listen to the news and watch the program "I Led Three Lives." I don't understand it but it looks like something terrible.

I get the news about communism on TV and read a little about it. I get it better to read it because all those big names are hard to follow when the other fellow pronounces them.

I have read a little about the law. I don't pay much attention to the charges and countercharges.

I hear the news about communism on the radio. I had five brothers in Korea so follow the news closely.

Fifty per cent of this group claimed practically no knowledge of the news on Communism or the law regarding its legality. Most of those who had read or heard about this subject, had an opinion and while they may not have been able to give a definition of Communism, they understood it enough to label it as an enemy of this country. Some of them recognized Communist-type propaganda as was exemplified by the respondent who rebuked the man she heard talking about the things the Negroes do not have. A few of those in this category seemed confused by the big names used in connection with the news on Communism. One

respondent pointed out that he could get the names better when he read them himself than he could when he heard someone else pronounce them. Despite this, these people used oral more than written channels of communication.

In Group D, 38 per cent said they had read about Communism in the newspapers; 46 per cent had heard about it on radio; 23 per cent gave television as a source of information; 8 per cent had heard others talk about it; and 23 per cent seemed to know little or nothing about it. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I followed the McCarthy hearings and think such a law would be good.

I think I have an idea what communism is but am not sure. I think that it is a group of people against the country.

We follow the news about communist activities because my brother-in-law is in Italy.

I haven't read or heard about the law. I read about the eleven Americans released by Red China and I am interested in this woman who married two husbands.

I have read just a little but not much because it doesn't interest me at all.

The members of this group used both oral and written channels for information but they did not show as keen an interest in the subject as did those in the previous groups. Few showed enough knowledge of or interest in the subject to express an opinion. Those who watched the

television program, "I Led Three Lives," apparently did so only as a form of entertainment without recognizing its significance. Some seemed to feel that disinterest in and ignorance of the news about Communism made them more patriotic.

In Group E, 89 per cent gave the newspapers as a source of information; 11 per cent, radio; 33 per cent, television; 11 per cent had heard others talk about it; and 11 per cent seemed to know nothing about the subject. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I would favor the law if it would help.
I have heard a little about it.

I don't understand Russia's attitude.
I think McCarthy was sincere although
he may not always have been right.

My husband keeps up with the news and tells
me about it.

I have read about it and I watch, "I Led
Three Lives." People who don't under-
stand communism can get misled easily.

I heard about it on radio and T.V. and
sometimes I watch, "I Led Three Lives."
If I have any communist tendencies, I
don't know it.

I read about the law but I don't understand
it.

I don't keep up with this part of the news.

Even in this college-trained group, many seemed to understand little of what they read or heard about Communism. The members of this group used written channels more than

any of the other groups and used them more than oral channels. Even though these people had more information than most of the other Negroes, they were not so outspoken in their opinions but what opinions they gave showed more thought. Only one respondent, a young female school teacher, seemed to have had no information about the subject and one other female informant said that she had not read about Communist activities but that her husband had kept her informed. Also, most of these Negroes seemed to understand enough of what they had heard or read to know that Communism is considered a threat to this country. These people were the best informed on this subject, as on most subjects, of all the Negroes interviewed.

Either these 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes were not well informed or they were hesitant about expressing themselves too freely on a subject that frightens some people. Again Group A was the least informed and Group E was the best informed. The members of Group C gave opinions more readily than the other groups as they had done on the previous question. These people in Group C seemed to be more emotional about the information as they tried to give logical explanations, but appeared to lack the comprehension to do so. Group D showed the least interest, as they had on the previous question. This lack of interest did not appear to be the result of no

information because the interviews show that these high school trained Negroes had access to more channels of communication than most of the other Negroes.

The only group using written more than oral channels was the college-trained group (see Table XV). Most of the Negroes interviewed depended on oral news reports and hearsay for their information on this subject. One reason for their not getting more information on this topic from written channels may have been because, except for an occasional editorial, the Negro newspapers carried few articles. Groups A and B, of course, depended almost entirely on oral channels of communication.

More interviewees gave "no opinion" and/or "no knowledge" responses to this question than to any of the others. Three possible explanations of this are: many actually had no knowledge of the subject; they did not understand the information they had well enough to express an opinion; and they were afraid that knowing about Communism would brand them as Communists.

Question Four.-What do you think of Eisenhower as President?

When response was slow, the author asked the following additional questions:

Do you follow the President's career?

Have you ever heard him speak on radio or seen him speak on television?

TABLE XV

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING QUESTION THREE. DO YOU THINK THAT IT SHOULD BE AGAINST THE LAW TO BELONG TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	10 (1)*	16 (5)	39 (14)	38 (5)	89 (8)	33 (33)
Radio	40 (4)	44 (14)	44 (16)	46 (6)	11 (1)	45 (45)
Television	none	13 (4)	11 (4)	23 (3)	33 (3)	14 (14)
Hearsay	20 (2)	13 (4)	3 (1)	8 (1)	11 (1)	9 (9)
Little or no information	40 (4)	50 (16)	44 (15)	23 (3)	11 (1)	39 (39)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

Do you read his speeches in the newspapers?

Do you read or hear news items about the President?

Do you vote?

This question was not intended to be a popularity poll but was included because it was a topic about which everyone might be expected to have at least a little information. In addition to discovering the channels used by all educational levels, the opinions expressed might indicate how much thinking these Negroes had done about the information they had.

Group A gave the poorest responses. No one had read about the President or his speeches; 50 per cent gave radio as a source of their information; and no one gave television or hearsay as a source. Forty per cent expressed a favorable opinion of the President; no one, an unfavorable opinion; and sixty per cent gave no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

He has done a good job. I listen to all of his speeches. I am glad to hear they are about to bring an end to that fightin'.
(Non-voter)

I guess he's done a pretty good job. I listen to his speeches when I ketch it.
(Non-voter)

He's done a good job. I listen to his speeches on radio because I like to hear what the leadin' men are doin'. (Non-voter)

Haven't never heard him talk. (Non-voter)

I have read a few things about him but things like that I just wait and let them work out. White people have come to try to get me to vote but I can't because I can't write. (Non-voter)

I heard him one time at the place where I was working but didn't know what he was talking about. (Non-voter)

The inability to read was a handicap to the members of this group because they missed those daily news items which frequently were not included on the radio and television news programs. Some of them had heard him speak on the radio but, as some of the replies indicated, they did not understand his speeches. They seemed to understand when he talked about a more sensational subject, such as war. None of the members of this educational category vote. One female respondent said that some white people had come to her house to persuade her to vote but that she did not think she could pass the registration test unless she could learn to write. No one expressed an unfavorable opinion of the President but more than half of the group said they had no opinion.

In Group B, 28 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 72 per cent said they had heard the President and/or news about him on radio; 13 per cent had seen him speak on television; and 3 per cent gave hearsay as a source. Forty-one per cent expressed a favorable

opinion of the President; no one expressed an unfavorable one; and fifty-nine per cent gave no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I heard him on radio. I am with the President but it is hard to tell where he stands. In a job like that, you have to dance by some of those fellers' music. (Non-voter)

I listen to his speeches at times. I am uneducated so am not qualified to give an opinion. (Non-voter)

I think good of anybody who prays because anybody who prays has a chance. I listen to him speak and read after him and pray for him. (Voter)

I think he's pretty good. I was expectin' wages to fall but things have held up. I listen to his speeches and read about him. (Voter)

He's making a wonderful President. I listen to his speeches and like them. I read a right smart in the paper about him. (Non-voter)

I can't decide. His time isn't up and you don't know what he's going to do before his time is up. (Non-voter)

I listened to his speech about that place where he's been (Geneva). I hadn't followed him until then. (Non-voter)

I think we have a good President. I listen to every speech he gives and read about him. I believe he has a good spirit. (Non-voter)

He can cause America to be in war or in peace but if they push him too far he'll go to the other side. He's playing two games of ball. (Non-voter)

Some think he's all right, some don't. Times get hard when those Republicans are in some think. I don't pay much attention to it. (Non-voter)

Sometimes I hear his speeches. I don't vote because I don't own property. I don't follow the President's views much. (Non-voter)

I noticed a comment on his age. I hear his speeches sometimes but they are too long. (Non-voter)

I think he's as grand as we've had outside of Roosevelt. (Had voted when he lived in New York but does not vote here)

The majority of those in this educational category relied on oral channels of communication for their information because they did not read at all or did not read well enough to follow the serious news. However, many of them followed the news closely on radio and listened to the broadcasts and watched the telecasts of the President's speeches. These Negroes made a variety of comments based on what information they had and some of these comments seemed to show considerable insight on the part of the informant. The one who said, "I am with the President but it is hard to tell where he stands," shows that he had been thinking and analyzing what the President had said. This respondent did not vote.

It is interesting to note what attracted the attention of the Negroes interviewed. For example, one woman was impressed by the President's calling for a day of

prayer and then going to church and praying. One interviewee expressed his thanks that wages had not fallen as they were alleged to do when the Republicans are in office. Another was impressed by the President's trip to Geneva and still another by a comment on the President's age.

Only a small percentage of this group were voters. Most of them expressed the opinion that they could not pass the registration examination because of their lack of education. One respondent thought that all voters had to be property owners. However, this inability to vote seemingly had not dulled their interest in the President and his activities.

In Group C, 50 per cent said they had read the President's speeches and/or read about him in the newspapers; 78 per cent said they had heard him and/or news about him on radio; 44 per cent gave television as a source of information; 22 per cent said they had not followed his career. Fifty-three per cent gave a favorable opinion of the President; three per cent gave an unfavorable one; and forty-four per cent expressed no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

He has done a wonderful job for a Republican because they generally run things down to nothing. I listen to him on the radio.
(Non-voter)

He's done pretty good in some things. I listen to his speeches and read about him every day. I read that two of his motors went out on his recent trip and he said that he sweat and prayed for the other two to stand. (Non-voter)

He has done a good job. I liked Truman better and Roosevelt best of all. Eisenhower is in in hard times. If he hadn't already been bald, it would have made him bald. Truman seems to have held up well. (Non-voter)

I get along all right. I haven't gotten any worse with him in there. I listen to his speeches and read opinions on him in the paper. (Non-voter)

I follow him regularly. I look in the paper to find out when he's going to talk. He's done a good job. (Voter)

I think he's the most wonderful President we've had. I read about him and hear his speeches. (Voter)

A lot of people claim that if he would get out, things would be better. (Non-voter)

I listen to him sometimes and read about him in the papers. I heard that last week he was playing golf. (Non-voter)

I think he's a stinker. More people are out of work since he came into office. My husband has been out of work since last May. He just went to work the other day. I listen to his speeches but get mad and turn him off. (Non-voter)

He has done about the best of his abilities but I'd rather see a Democrat in because there is more business under the Democrats. Lately most of the speeches have come too late at night for me to listen. (Non-voter)

Most of the members of this group used oral channels for their information although half of them used written channels along with the oral ones. Besides radio and television, these people gained much of their information from hearsay, that is, what they heard others say about the President. These Negroes were a little less vehement in expressing their opinions about the President than they were about the previous topics. However, from this group came the first unfavorable opinion and it was given frankly and with no apologies. A high percentage would not express an opinion on President Eisenhower. The woman who expressed the unfavorable opinion did not vote but everyone else in her family did. The comments she made seemed to indicate that she had based her opinion on personal misfortune and on hearsay about the reputation of the Republicans. She said that she would not listen to what the President himself said.

Nearly all of the lack of interest and information seemed to be among those who did not vote. Only thirty-one per cent of this group were registered voters and one would vote for the first time at the age of fifty. However, even among the non-voters there seemed to be some interest in the President's activities. Some of the responses showed that they were interested not only in his political activities but many were interested in his

private and spiritual activities, e.g., the comment about his playing golf and taking a vacation. These were news items usually mentioned on radio and television news programs.

In addition, some of these persons had followed the news closely enough to make comparisons between Eisenhower and Truman and Eisenhower and Roosevelt. They also had thought about the President in relation to events that were taking place in the world today and had compared the difficulty of his job with that of other Presidents. All of these responses seemed to show considerable insight on the part of the informants.

In Group D, 54 per cent said that they had read about the President in the newspapers; 69 per cent said they had heard the news about the President and/or listened to his speeches on radio; and 69 per cent gave television as a source of information. Fifty-four per cent expressed a favorable opinion about the President; eight per cent expressed an unfavorable one; and thirty-eight per cent expressed no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I listen to all of his speeches but I haven't decided whether he is good or not. (Voter)

I listen to some of his speeches and see him on TV. I think he's doing all right. He's probably done as good as anyone. (Non-voter)

A lot has been accomplished under his administration. (Non-voter)

I haven't followed his career but I have heard comments about him over the radio. He has more recreation than other people. His wife is in bed because she needs a rest, while her husband gets lots of recreation playing golf and fishing. (Voter)

I have listened to his speeches and read a lot about him. I haven't discussed him with anybody because people are too ready for an argument. (Non-voter)

Although a higher percentage of the members of this group were registered voters than those in the previous groups, they seemed less interested in the President and his activities than most of the others. These Negroes seemed reserved in expressing their opinions. This hesitancy certainly was not because they did not have access to channels of communication. Also, it may not have been because of a lack of interest in the subject but they may have been a little hesitant to express their views freely on any political topic. None of their statements were radical, not even the one unfavorable opinion. The woman who gave the unfavorable opinion did not base it on the President's political activities but on his private activities. She said that he was neglecting his wife by playing golf or fishing. The respondent who said, "He's probably done as good a job as anyone," was typical of the opinion expressed by a high percentage of this group.

In Group E, 67 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 78 per cent, radio; and 67 per cent, television. Seventy-eight per cent expressed a favorable opinion about the President and twenty-two per cent gave no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I occasionally listen to his speeches. I have noticed that his military career has not influenced his decisions.
(Voted elsewhere but not here)

I think he is a fine person. He has seemingly brought the two parties closer together than ever before. I listen to his speeches and glance over the paper after I listen. (Non-voter)

At first I didn't care about him but I think he is coming along. I listen to his press conferences and he sounds very impressive. I also read about him in the newspapers. (Voter)

He is fine. I hear speeches and read about him. He has done a lot for peace.
(Voter)

Nearly all of the college-trained Negroes interviewed were registered voters and seemed well informed on this topic. They gave responses that showed that they not only had heard the news reports and listened to the President but that they had given the material some thought. They showed insight with such responses as, "I have noticed that his military career has not influenced his decisions," and "I listen to his speeches and glance over

the paper after I listen." They made no such general statements as, "He has done good for a Republican," "he is as good as any," or "I guess he's done as good as he can" but their opinions showed some care and consideration. The members of this group did not seem interested in news reports regarding the President's private affairs such as religion and recreation.

In addition to oral and written channels of communication used by other groups the college-trained Negroes also read a number of professional publications which sometimes carry the President's views relative to their particular field of interest. Also, they read more editorials than those Negroes with less educational background. Despite the fact that most of them seemed well informed, some took no interest in politics, either local, state, or national.

As usual, the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes used oral more than written channels of communication for their information (see Table XVI). For this question even the college-trained Negroes used oral more than written channels. The Negroes interviewed listened to the President speak on radio and television and to recent coverage of the President's news conferences by television. The percentage of people in Groups A and B who watched the President on television was small because few of them owned television sets.

TABLE XVI

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING QUESTION FOUR. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	none	28 (9)	50 (18)	54 (7)	67 (6)	40 (40)
Radio	50 (5) *	72 (23)	78 (28)	69 (9)	78 (7)	72 (72)
Television	none	3 (4)	44 (16)	69 (9)	67 (6)	35 (35)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

The members of Group C expressed their opinions more freely than those in the other groups. Group B showed more interest in this topic than they had in any of the previous ones and their responses showed that they had more information on this question than on the previous questions. Group D showed the least interest, although this group had the second highest percentage of registered voters of all the groups, and seemed to have considerable information, but still their responses indicated a lack of interest. Group E, with the highest percentage of registered voters, showed the best understanding of the information they had. They seemed to base their responses more on thought and study than on hearsay and "homespun philosophies."

The less educated Negroes showed more interest in news which affected their daily living like work, religion, and recreation. The respondents sometimes censured the President for their unemployment or praised him for his attendance of church or some form of recreation of which they approved. The higher educated were more interested in the broader political issues such as education, segregation, and peace.

CHAPTER V

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSES TO EIGHT GENERAL
QUESTIONS CONTINUED

Question Five.-Do you follow sports?

Some additional questions used were the following:

What sports do you follow?

Do you listen to games on radio or watch them
on television?

Do you read about the players in the newspapers
or magazines?

Do you like to read sports stories both true
and fictional?

Do you attend the games yourself?

This question was included as part of the plan to cover a variety of subjects in order to get responses from everyone interviewed. Because of the increasing number of Negroes entering the field of sports and because of the increased coverage of sports by the local channels of communication, this topic was selected. In addition to the probing questions, some recent sports events of note frequently were mentioned and discussed informally with the informant. Since the interviews were made during the baseball season, the recent accomplishments of an outstanding Negro or white baseball player were suggested and this frequently started the respondent talking about his

favorite athlete or team. Boxing was a popular sport with the Negroes and they usually knew about one or more outstanding Negro boxers.

Group A showed little interest in sports. Of this group, 40 per cent said that they listened to the games on radio; 20 per cent said they watched sports events on television; and 40 per cent said they were not interested in sports. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I don't follow sports much. My daughter reads to me about them sometimes.

I am crazy about sports except I don't like football.

I listened to the games because it is company for me but I can't read about the players.

I used to play baseball when I was young but I don't care much for it since I've been converted.

I like football. I listen to the games and attend them. My sons and grandsons play.

Again, the inability of the members of this group to read proved a handicap. The responses show that most of the interest was among the younger Negroes and those who had close relatives either interested or participating in sports. The responses brought out one other factor influencing the respondent in his reply, religion. The responses in this group, as well as in other groups, show that some believed that when one becomes "converted" he must give up all kinds of entertainment which he previously enjoyed.

In Group B, 13 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 13 per cent, magazines; 34 per cent said they listened to the sports events and heard the sports news on radio; 22 per cent indicated that they watched sports events on television; no one attended sports events; and 47 per cent indicated no interest in sports. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I listen to the baseball games on the radio. I like the Brooklyn Dodgers and Jackie Robinson. I thought we were getting some place when he started playing with the white folks.

I fish once in awhile but don't care about baseball or other sports.

I am a Dodger fan. I don't know about football but I listen to baseball games on the radio and watch them on television. I am crazy about Jackie Robinson and have met him in person.

I listen to the games on TV and radio. I read about colored and white players in the newspapers and magazines. I am very interested in this.

I am not interested in sports. I played baseball once but they have changed it so much I don't know what is going on now.

I like to fish. I watch the fights but don't understand ball games.

I don't follow sports at all. I never read about the players or fighters.

I don't follow sports at all. I just do church work.

I sometimes listen to the ball games. I am a Baptist but I think it is all right.

I don't listen because my religion is against my following sports.

I am not interested. If I am at someone's house, I listen but I don't fool with that sort of thing.

I don't understand sports. It's gotten to be such a racket.

My husband loves ball games. I don't like sports because I am a Christian. I think that if I put my mind on sports, it weakens it for church work.

This group also relied more on oral than written channels for their sports information but a few read stories about the personal accomplishments of Negro athletes. A high percentage showed no interest in sports. No one in this group said that he attended sports events. Probably because of their low income, most of these people could not attend sporting events. Most of these people worked at jobs that prevented them from listening to daytime sporting events or watching them on television.

The responses of the members of this group indicated that an increased percentage were influenced by religious beliefs. One respondent said that she liked baseball games and saw nothing wrong in watching even though her church taught against it. Some responses seemed to indicate that changes in the playing rules had caused some of the older Negroes to lose interest.

The members of this group expressed an interest in reading about the players and their favorite teams and

seemed especially interested in reading about Negro players. The Negroes gave the Brooklyn Dodgers as their favorite team, and Jackie Robinson as their favorite athlete. One man showed an interest in race relations by his reply, "I thought we were getting some place when he started playing with the white folks." These people seemed interested in sports because of increased participation by Negroes and also for the sheer enjoyment they got, as was indicated by the fact that they had favorites among both the Negroes and whites.

In Group C, 44 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 50 per cent, magazines; 42 per cent said they heard the sports events and sports news on the radio; 36 per cent said they watched the sports events on television; 11 per cent said they attended sports events; and 33 per cent indicated no interest in sports of any kind. Some of the responses of this group were as follows:

I like to fish but I don't follow other sports.

I read about baseball and the Negro players in Ebony, Hue, and Jet. The Yankees and Dodgers are my favorite teams.

I don't follow sports much. I do look at it in the paper to try to find out what's good or bad about it. I like to fish or hunt.

I am interested in all sports including golf and tennis. I read about all of the players both colored and white.

I follow sports very little but do like to read fiction stories about sports.

I follow baseball. I like to read about the players and baseball standings.

I follow sports very closely. I listen to games and watch them on TV. When Negroes are on the baseball teams playing here, there is a good Negro attendance at the games.

My husband follows the baseball games on TV but I can't because they come on Saturday. (She is a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church).

I just go to the show on Tuesday and Thursday to see if I've won bank night.

I listen to the baseball games and some football games. I like to read about outstanding players like Robinson, Campenella, and Snyder.

Many members of this educational category showed more interest than those in the two previous groups but still a third of them showed no interest at all. These Negroes used more written than oral channels for their information.

These Negroes also seemed interested in Negro athletes and how well they competed with whites. The members of this group illustrated this by naming the Brooklyn Dodgers their favorite baseball team. Of course, some had idols among the white as well as Negro athletes.

Here again religious beliefs seemed to lessen the interest in sports and in some cases eliminated this interest altogether. One male respondent, age 66, said

that he only followed sports "to see what is good or bad about it." A female informant said that she couldn't watch the baseball games because they came on Saturdays, the day she attended church.

Although the percentage of those who seemed to be interested in sports was high in this group, the percentage who actually attended sports events was low.

In Group D, 54 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 62 per cent, magazines; 23 per cent, radio; 23 per cent, television; 3 per cent said they attended sports events; and 8 per cent indicated no interest in any kind of sports. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

My grandsons have gotten me interested in baseball. We watch the games on television.

I seldom hear the ball games because I have no time but sometimes attend during the season. Occasionally I read about some of the players.

What little I know about sports is what my husband tells me.

I love sports. I listen to all kinds of ball games and read about athletes, both colored and white.

I watch the baseball games and am a Dodger fan. I follow the players, both colored and white.

I watch the baseball games on a neighbor's television. I also like boxing and wrestling. I read about the athletes in magazines. Campanella and Jackie Robinson are getting too fat.

The members of this group used written more than oral channels of communication and a higher percentage used television. They seemed interested in sports, especially football and baseball, but few actually attended the games. Some of them indicated that they had husbands who attended local sports events. However, those women seemed interested and a high percentage said they read about sports and watched sports events on television.

None of the members of this group stated that religious beliefs interfered with interest in the subject. Also, they did not seem to be interested in the fact that Negroes were in the major leagues. They seemed well informed and more interested than they were in previous topics.

In Group E, 67 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 78 per cent, magazines, 78 per cent, radio; 78 per cent said they listened to sports events on radio; 78 per cent watched sports events on television; 44 per cent said they attended sports events. No one indicated disinterest in any kind of sports. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I follow all kinds of sports. I listen to the games and read about the players in the newspapers and magazines. I also officiate all kinds of sports.

I am interested in sports. I listen to the games. I read about the players and did so before the Negro got into the majors.

I watch the ball games and enjoy reading stories in the magazines about colored and white players.

Sports were not the primary interest of this group but they seemed well informed on the subject. A high percentage of these Negroes attended the sports events.

The members of this group obtained their information from both oral and written channels of communication. The Negro males followed the sports page of Negro and white newspapers and read the sports sections of magazines. The women used some of these same channels but they seem to have obtained most of their information from their husbands. The statement by one of the male informants that he had read about athletes even before Negroes began playing in the major leagues seems to indicate that most of these college-trained Negroes were interested in athletics for entertainment and not just because the members of their own race had been successful in breaking into a previously all-white sport.

Although the members of this group may not have been the rabid sports fans found among some of the other Negroes, they seemed to be the best informed as a group.

As has been the case with the four previous questions, Group A was the least informed and Group E was the best informed. The members of Group A relied on no written channels. Group C used more written than oral channels while for the four previous questions they had used more

oral than written channels (see Table XVII). Another unusual characteristic of Group C was that a higher percentage showed little or no interest in the subject. The members of Group D showed considerably more interest in this topic than they had in the four previous questions. Group E showed the highest percentage of people attending sports events.

The local Negro radio station was not a source of information about this topic because it carried practically no sports news and no broadcasts of sports events. The local Negro college football games are broadcast over one of the white radio stations. However, the Negro newspapers and magazines, both local and national, were used by some of the interviewees.

Question Six.-What do you understand the recent Supreme Court decision regarding school segregation to mean?

When responses were slow, some additional questions asked were as follow:

Does it mean that we will have equal but separate facilities?

Does it mean that Negro and white children will go to school together?

Have you read any discussions on this subject?

Has your minister talked about it at church?

Have you read in the newspapers or heard on the news reports about some of the schools in the South taking both colored and white children?

TABLE XVII

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES
FOR ANSWERING QUESTION FIVE. DO YOU FOLLOW SPORTS?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	none	13 (4)*	44 (16)	54 (7)	67 (6)	33 (33)
Magazines	none	13 (4)	50 (18)	62 (8)	78 (7)	37 (37)
Radio	40 (4)	34 (11)	42 (15)	23 (3)	78 (7)	40 (40)
Television	20 (2)	22 (7)	42 (15)	23 (3)	78 (7)	31 (31)
Attend sports events	10 (1)	none	11 (4)	8 (1)	44 (4)	10 (10)
No interest	40 (4)	47 (15)	33 (12)	8 (1)	none	32 (32)

*The number in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

Have you read or heard about the two Negro students being shot at Louisiana State University?¹

Little explanation need be made for including this question in this study since the topic is one discussed daily by a high percentage of both Negroes and whites. Although the topic is a prominent one, many seemed reluctant to talk about it. In some cases the Negroes probably did not understand the court decision. However, sometimes after a respondent had indicated he did not understand the decision, further questions revealed that he was hesitant to express an opinion. Some informants talked freely about the subject and some asked the interviewer what it meant.

In Group A, 30 per cent gave newspapers as their source of information;² 30 per cent, radio; 30 per cent said they had heard about the subject from others; and 50 per cent indicated they did not understand it. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I haven't followed it. I heard my husband discuss it. He follows all of that.

I don't know how it will work. If the Lord is in the plan, it will be all right.

I have heard a little but not enough to catch the understandin' of it.

¹This incident happened during the time the author was conducting his interviews so all of the respondents were not questioned about it.

²A few had others read to them from newspapers.

I don't know anything about it. If I heard it, I didn't understand it.

Haven't heard anything about it. I have heard some talk about it but didn't pay any attention.

I read about it in the paper. They are trying to get the children to all go to school together but I don't understand much.

I heard it on the radio and my daughters (school teachers) have explained it to me. It looks like some want it and some don't.

The members of this group did not have a wealth of information about this topic but all of them indicated that they had at least heard about the court decision. Most of these Negroes indicated that they got their information from hearsay. A high percentage of them seemed afraid to speak frankly about the meaning of the court decision.

In Group B, 34 per cent gave newspapers as a source of their information; 41 per cent, radio; 13 per cent, television; 6 per cent said they had heard speakers discuss it; 13 per cent indicated they had heard others talk about it; and 34 per cent said they did not understand it. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

The South is not ready. It will take a long time. There are some on both sides who don't know how to act. We have good schools for both groups. I helped build one nice one for Negroes. If there are not enough Negroes for a separate school, then they could go to the same school as whites.

I have read about it a little. The supreme court has given a decision but will the lower courts accept it? It is hard to understand why for so long the colored had only three months of school while the whites had nine. The tax money paid for equal facilities for all. My teacher had 125 in one room.

I have listened to and participated in discussions on it. I have read about it and discussed it in our National Council meetings. It will mean something here if we ever understand it. Some colored say, "Child, I wouldn't go to school with no white families."

I have read quite a bit about it but I can't figure it out. I have no children of school age. I just want to work and get along so I don't pay any mind to this.

I have listened to it right smart and it seems they are tryin' to give everybody the proper schooling. I have talked to the students at LSU where I work and they don't mind having colored. They came there for an education.

I have heard about it on the radio but I don't understand it. Things are different here than in the North. (He was stationed in Illinois during World War I).

I've heard about it on television. I have heard people discuss it but people get things wrong so I don't take much stock in it. I still listen though.

I hear it discussed. How can you bring in something that has been down for years? Colored don't have blood in their bodies same as white. Child of beans and corn bread is not the same as child of milk. Back-woods people makes it what it is today.

I been kinda followin' that up a little but don't understand none of it too much. They say that children will go to school together but I think we should stay the way we are.

I heard it on the news. I am not concerned because I have always kept in my place. Some think that colored want to be equal and some think another way.

I have read about it in the News Leader and seen the news on television. People in the South seem to think that the colored want to intermarry but they don't. They want to better themselves. Once in awhile the lady where I work mentions it and so does our minister.

I heard it on the radio. I think everybody is alike and it is all right with me for children to go to school together.

I have kept up with the biggest part of it. It might be good in one way but might create animosity. The majority of Negroes do not teach children right. Our people can't agree in our own schools. We had better leave it the way it is. It has been discussed at church by our minister and in Sunday School.

I have listened to it on the radio. I am not in favor of white and colored children going to school together. I lived for twenty-one years in New York City and didn't like the way it worked there. The white teachers didn't take enough interest in the children and were not permitted to discipline them.

My daughter has read to me about it. I wish they would leave the schools the way they are because it only causes confusion. My daughter is going back to California if there is confusion over the change here.

Although one-third of this group said they did not understand the court decision and paid little attention to the news about it, the remaining two-thirds seemed to be informed and to have done considerable thinking about the subject. They obtained more information from oral than

written channels of communication. From their information they had formed opinions that ranged from wanting the present system to continue to wanting complete integration.

Some of these opinions seemed to be shaded by beliefs not based on factual information. One example of this was the respondent who said that "the blood is not the same" and cited the diet of the children as being partially responsible for this difference. However, some of their opinions and theories were based on what seemed to be sound thinking and showed considerable insight on the part of the interviewees, e.g., the Negro woman who said, "It will mean something here if we ever understand it."

One opinion encountered during the interviewing was that expressed by the informant who said, "I just want to work and get along so I don't pay any mind to this." This opinion was held mostly among Negroes who had an adequate income and had no children of school age. Others expressed the opinion that a change should not be made now. One Negro woman said that her daughter would go back to California to finish high school if "confusion" resulted over integration. One male respondent who favored the present system had lived for several years in New York City. He said that the white teachers where he had worked neglected the Negro children and that mixing the children caused fights and other serious trouble. Another

respondent said that some members of each race had not been raised properly and would surely not be able to get along if they were mixed in the public schools.

One possible reason why these people seemed better informed on this topic than on previous ones is that the Negro publications carried considerable news about the subject. Although the local Negro radio station carried practically no news about it, the local white radio and television stations did. This topic was discussed in nearly every Negro organization in Baton Rouge, either by the members themselves, by a guest Negro or white speaker, or by the ministers at the Negro churches. However, some seemed to take the attitude of one respondent who said, "People get things wrong so I don't take much stock in what they say."

In Group C, 61 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 44 per cent, radio; 17 per cent, television; 17 per cent said they had heard others talk about it; and 19 per cent indicated that they did not understand the decision. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

I read about it in the paper and heard it on the radio. The colored man should have the same privileges as the white man because Negroes died in the war the same as the white. If we are goin' to have Jim Crow laws, let the white be in front in war and the Negro in the back. When I was a boy, the Southern whites kept the Negroes working all year so they couldn't go to school. The whites went to school the year round.

I have read about it. It will work itself out. It will probably take five years. It is past my education so am not so interested. I hear a lot of people on both sides talking about it.

The Supreme court is the highest court in the world and it looks like what they adopt as law ought to be right.

I understand it to mean that the schools will be equal. I have read about it and listened to it on the radio. They don't explain it but talk about it. Some white and colored could be together but some couldn't.

I have read about it and talked about it with different people. It will give the colored a chance to be taught the same things as white. When our children go off to New York or some place in the North they are put back because they have not been taught the same.

I have read about it every day. It means go to school together without regard for color. Color is not the reason because for a long time people with much darker skins than mine have been going to L.S.U. It is just custom and the fact that we came here under unfavorable conditions.

I have read about it and heard it on radio. I don't know what it means but I'm not in favor of it. I want mine to go to an all-colored school. I can't speak for the rest of the congregation.

I have read about it and heard it on radio and television. The minister has mentioned it a little. I don't know why they should get so excited about it. The lady where I work was talking to the chauffeur about it and said there would be trouble. I don't see why.

I have heard about it and read a little about it. It means that colored and white will

go to school together. Children would learn more because colored teachers are not well qualified and don't care if children learn.

I follow all of the news closely. I think it is silly to have segregation. People today shouldn't have to suffer what we did.

The members of this group used more written than oral channels, probably because the Negro newspapers and magazines featured many articles on the subject. Most of these people seemed well informed and only a few were totally uninformed.

The members of Group C expressed a variety of opinions varying from complete approval of the courts decision to complete disapproval. Some favored integration if it could be done as one respondent said, "without confusion." Others indicated it might be good but not worth trouble and confusion. Still others said that they could see no reason why there should be trouble since the highest court in the land had ruled against segregation.

Some of these Negroes interviewed commented on their own schools. They said that their teachers did an inferior job of teaching because they did not take an interest in the students. One interviewee pointed out that the teachers were interested only in the money. Another respondent related from firsthand experience that Negro children when they go from here to Northern schools, could not keep up because of poor training.

A small percentage expressed bitterness and resentment. One World War II combat veteran was especially outspoken about segregation. He expressed the opinion that the Southern white man did not want the Negro educated but wanted him to spend most of his time working.

Members of this educational category who were least interested in this topic were those who had no children of school age. Most of them had better than average incomes and seemed to feel that they might be harmed if there were trouble over any segregation issue. On the other hand, some expressed the belief that the younger Negroes should not have to endure the inferior educational opportunities.

Most of the members of Group C seemed well informed, using both oral and written channels for this information. Also, they had discussed the topic with other members of both races and did not hesitate to express their opinions.

In Group D, 77 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 38 per cent, radio; 16 per cent, television, 8 per cent, hearsay. No one said he did not understand the court decision. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

If you have a child and are near a white school, you could send him there instead of miles away. I don't know how it would work but seems to me it would be a good thing. Now children have to ride a long way in buses and you read about these wrecks.

I haven't kept up with it too much. The biggest majority of people here are against it especially the white people. It would be a nice thing if white and colored could mangle [sic] together but white don't go for mixin'.

I heard about those students getting shot at L.S.U. That's just the beginning. The whites only use colored when they need him.

I have followed it to a certain extent. It means integration of schools and equal rights. It will take a little time to bring it about. The older people are most against it.

I have followed it very closely. I have read all about it. The children would go to school together. Colored do not want socialization or intermarriage but equalization.

I have kept up with it on radio, television, and in the newspapers. I am in favor of leaving things the way they are. There has been so much trouble and the children are getting along fine the way things are.

I guess it means the colored get the same facilities. If I had children, I would just as soon have equal Negro schools because we have some brilliant teachers of our own. If there is not enough to have separate schools, then they should go together.

As was the case with the previous group, their opinions on segregation varied. Some favored a gradual program of integration. They said that they understood why Southern whites opposed integration and stated further that most Negroes opposed "socialization or intermarriage."

However, one woman did point out that mingling ("mangling" as she called it) would be a good thing.

Those who opposed integration seemed to fear that it would cause confusion and trouble. One informant cited the shooting of two Negro students at Louisiana State University as an example of the kind of trouble integration would cause. This respondent seemed extremely bitter and expressed a distrust of all southern whites.

Some members of this category took the view that integration would be good but that the improved schools built for the Negroes made it unnecessary. However, they indicated that the two races should attend the same schools in communities where there were not enough Negroes for separate schools.

In Group E, 100 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 11 per cent, radio; 11 per cent, television; and no one said that he did not understand the court decision. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

It means that white and colored can go to the same schools. We may still have some colored schools. Most of the trouble is with the uneducated colored and whites. I have read about it and discussed it with some Negro leaders.

I read about and follow it very closely. It won't come over night but will come sooner than most people want to think.

I have read about it but have no opinion. It is a political issue.

I have followed it in the newspaper and on radio and television. I understand that we are to have some privileges if we want them. It does not mean intermarriage.

I have been reading about it. We have excellent schools in our Parish so need nothing to be changed.

It means that all children in a district will go to school together regardless of color. I am not in favor of it. Our supervisor is very prejudiced. I follow it in the papers.

The college-trained Negroes relied mainly on written channels for their information. Since they were regular readers of Negro newspapers and magazines, they had access to a wealth of material on this subject.

All persons said they understood the court decision and nearly all of them expressed an opinion. The respondent who declined to give an opinion worked part-time for the city. The others all expressed either favorable or unfavorable opinions.

All of those showing an unfavorable attitude were school teachers. The members of this educational category seemed well informed and with the exception of the school teachers,³ were active in organizations working for

³A female informant with a fifth grade education who is active in Negro service organizations told the author that she frequently scolds the teachers in her organizations for not being active when they are so much better educated than most of the members who are active.

integration. A fear of losing their teaching positions may account for the attitude of the teachers.⁴

The use of written channels of communication by far surpassed the use of oral ones (see Table XVIII). Also, the amount of information that all of these groups possessed on this question exceeded the amount of information they had on the previous questions.

The college-trained group did not indicate a reliance on hearsay for their information but used written channels almost altogether. Nearly all of the members of Group E had a definite opinion on the subject and seemed to fully understand the meaning of the court decision. Besides those in the other groups who had definite pro and con opinions, many expressed a desire for whatever would bring the least confusion and trouble.

The responses to Question Six seemed to indicate that the Negroes relied heavily on Negro channels of communication for information.

Question Seven.-Do you think that employers in Baton Rouge discriminate against Negroes in certain jobs?

When responses were slow, some additional questions asked were as follow:

⁴A local Negro business man told the author that especially the unqualified Negro teachers feared integration because they certainly would either lose their jobs or have to become qualified. He pointed out that it was time for these unqualified teachers to become qualified or leave the profession.

TABLE XVIII

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING QUESTION SIX. WHAT DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISION REGARDING SCHOOL SEGREGATION TO MEAN?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	30 (3)*	34 (11)	61 (22)	77 (10)	100 (9)	55 (55)
Radio	30 (3)	41 (13)	44 (16)	38 (5)	11 (1)	38 (38)
Television	none	13 (4)	17 (6)	16 (2)	11 (1)	13 (13)
Hearsay	30 (3)	22 (7)	17 (6)	8 (1)	none	17 (17)

* The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

Have you read about cases of job discrimination in Baton Rouge?

Have you ever experienced any discrimination when applying for a job?

Have any of your friends ever told you about experiencing discrimination when they applied for a job?

Are there certain kinds of jobs that Negroes cannot get even though they are as well qualified as white applicants?

The author selected this topic because it concerned both male and female Negroes and one which had recently been in the local and national news. This question was designated to locate the Negroes' channels of communication, to get the Negroes to express opinions and to attempt to determine how well they understood their information.

In Group A, only 20 per cent gave any source of information at all, the newspaper which someone else had read to them. However, 60 per cent said there is discrimination; 20 per cent indicated no discrimination; and 20 per cent seemed uncertain. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

There are many good colored men who can't get a license. There is only one colored electrician and no plumbers in Baton Rouge. I have followed the local Post Office case.⁶ The colored support Standard Oil but can't get decent jobs with them.

⁶ He is referring to a recent charge of discrimination in the Baton Rouge post office.

The carpenters have plenty of work to do but I don't know about the other jobs. (This respondent is a carpenter.)

Yes there is. My son walked all over town until he wore out his shoes but couldn't get a job. There are jobs but they won't give them to you. My son finally lost his mind. They took him to Jackson last week.

My son had had a lot of trouble getting a job. It looks like they just pick on people.

I know there are some jobs colored can't get and that they do get less money than white. I just know it (this was in reply to the question, where did you get this information?).

The members of Group A had little information although the topic occupied a prominent place in the news at the time of the interviews. Their inability to read kept them from following the news carried by the Negro newspapers. Most of these uneducated Negroes expressed an opinion based on personal experience altogether. Some of them who worked in occupations which are primarily for Negroes said that there was no discrimination. Others who were qualified to do semi-skilled and skilled labor (very few in this group), usually done by whites in Baton Rouge, said that discrimination existed not only in hiring but in pay for the same work done by Negroes and white, the white workers getting the higher pay.

One respondent became emotional and blamed job discrimination for his son's mental condition. Others told

of discrimination experienced by their children who could not get jobs for which they had been trained.

In Group B, 25 per cent said they had read about job discrimination in the newspapers; 22 per cent gave personal experience as a source of information; and 34 per cent said they had heard about it from someone else. Sixty-nine per cent said that job discrimination existed in Baton Rouge; nine per cent denied its existence; and 22 per cent seemed uncertain. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

There is some discrimination at the plants. When the jobs called for lots of physical labor, they had colored but now that they just have valves to turn, the Negro is eliminated. I worked for a contractor from California. He was a fine man. We did have some trouble in working with some southerners.

I am disabled so don't know much about it. I hear some things about it on the street corner but you never know whether or not they have the facts.

I haven't kept up lately. There is some discrimination but as time goes on it will be better. We want colored social workers and maybe we'll get them.

There is plenty of discrimination. I don't have any trouble because what I do only colored do. I heard about Standard Oil from some of my friends who work there. They don't seem to think much about it so I don't need to give it any mind.

I don't think there is much discrimination. Standard Oil has kind of slacked up working colored but most places in Baton Rouge work at least one colored man.

There is some discrimination. I heard my husband talk about Standard Oil and I read about it. My daughter ran into it at Baton Rouge General Hospital. She is a registered nurse and had worked in surgery in Baptist Hospital in Jackson, Mississippi. She applied for a job here but was told there was no opening. A white girl, who was in school with my daughter, applied for the job and got it.

Where I work there is a difference in pay.

I haven't read about it but have seen it myself. Most of it is among Negroes themselves. If the Negro were to rule today, I wouldn't want to work.

The colored can't get office jobs. Colored don't get the same pay for the same jobs. I read in the News Leader about the Standard Oil situation. My husband works eleven hours a day for 83 cents an hour while the white man alongside doing the same work gets \$2.40 an hour.

They are trying to have a civil rights bill. I heard people talk about it.

My son has been out of work and can't get a job. He has thirteen children. My son says that the employment office told him there would soon be more jobs for colored.

The members of this group seem to have received most of their information from hearsay although some 25 per cent claimed to have read about the local discrimination in the News Leader. Most of these Negroes agreed that discrimination existed both in hiring and paying but only about 20 per cent claimed to have experienced it themselves. Most of the members of this educational category did common

labor which whites did not care to do. Those who had experienced discrimination seemed to have been those who had tried to break into the more skilled occupations and some of the trades. A retired Negro painter related the following experience which he had had at one of the Baton Rouge hospitals.

I was employed as a painter at Our Lady of the Lake hospital. There were two painters, the other one being white. The white painter was a member of the union but I was not. The white painter kept raising "boogie woogie" to get me to join the union. At the time I got \$45 for six days and the white man got \$60 a week for five days. The union scale was \$12 a day. I had to do all of the undesirable jobs besides straighten up what the white painter messed up.

Finally, the white painter raised so much "boogie woogie" that I joined the union. When I showed my union card to Mother Superior, she became very angry and said that she would not pay me the same scale as the white man. I had to quit my job because under union rules I could not work below the union scale.

Another informant claimed that Negroes discriminate more than whites and if Negroes were in positions of authority, conditions would be worse than they are today. The interviewee's source of information or basis for such an opinion was not determined.

Although the respondents in this group had little information about specific cases of discrimination in the news, they seemed to have heard enough to conclude that job and pay discrimination existed.

In Group C, 44 per cent said they had read about job and pay discrimination in the newspapers; 25 per cent had experienced it themselves; and 39 per cent said they had heard about it from others. Eighty-six per cent said that discrimination existed in Baton Rouge; six per cent denied its existence; and eight per cent seemed uncertain. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

There is much discrimination here. There are some things a man cannot get a license to do, like plumbing. You can pick out a leader to help you and he gets bought off.

There is no discrimination on the Air Force job where I work. My husband works at Standard Oil but doesn't say much. He doesn't read much and what I read I don't say much about. It is better to keep quiet.

If a white man and me have equal qualifications, the white man gets more money. No matter how much the colored man knows, the white man will get more money. My wife and daughter read to me sometimes and I understand it better.

There are plenty of jobs the colored can't get. If the white man don't want a job, the colored can get it. I have read about the Standard Oil case.

There surely is discrimination. It is much better now than it used to be. I have read about the Standard Oil situation and my husband who works at Standard Oil has told me about it.

I've heard people say that there is discrimination but don't know about it. My husband has the top job where he is. If you have the experience, you can get it.

I have heard people talk about it. There are some jobs where colored get a better deal than white in a particular line of work, e.g., painting. I read in the News Leader about the Standard Oil situation.

The members of Group C seemed not to be much better informed than those in Group B although nearly all of them agreed that discrimination existed. One fourth of them indicated they had experienced it themselves and half of them said they had heard others talk about being discriminated against. Their responses showed that some of them had secured this information from close relatives. Some of these Negroes appeared to have been well enough trained in some skills to compete for jobs usually held only by whites, a fact that may account for the increased number who personally experienced discrimination.

Members of this category who said there was no discrimination had good jobs and seemed to think that anyone could get the job for which he was qualified. They seemed to base their opinions on personal experience and to discount the experience of others.

Some of these Negroes expressed the opinion that it was better just to do what could be done and keep quiet. Others said that in certain occupations Negroes got a better opportunity than whites. A small percentage claimed that discrimination existed, but that conditions were better now than they had been.

Nearly all of those who had read about the local cases had done so in the News Leader. Nearly everyone interviewed in this category had some information, seemed interested in the topic, and expressed an opinion willingly.

In Group D, 62 per cent said they had read about job and pay discrimination in the newspapers; 38 per cent had heard others talk about it; and no one claimed to have had any personal experience with it. Sixty-two per cent said that discrimination existed in Baton Rouge; eight per cent denied any discrimination; and thirty-one per cent seemed uncertain. Some of the responses received were as follow:

There is discrimination. I have read a little about it. I read in the News Leader about NAACP case against the local post office.

There are a lot of jobs colored can't get. I think it ought to be according to what you know.

I have read a little about the Standard Oil situation. There is not much trouble in my husband's line of work. (He is a paper hanger and painter).

I haven't read much about it but have heard people talk about it. There is a lot of that going on at Standard Oil.

Yes, there is plenty of this. I have heard other people talk about it. I read in the newspapers about the Standard Oil situation. The colored union president is a personal friend and he says that he and the union will fight the discrimination to the end.

There is no discrimination for people who are qualified. I have read in the News Leader about the Standard Oil situation. (Her husband is a truck driver.)

The members of this high school trained group got most of their information from newspapers and hearsay. It seemed unusual that none of these reported job discrimination. However, nearly all of the women interviewed did maid's work and the men were truck drivers, painters, and carpenters, jobs that are open to Negroes in Baton Rouge. One of the respondents who had a white collar job worked for a Negro concern. More than half of these Negroes indicated that job discrimination existed.

One interviewee, whose husband was a truck driver, declared that there was no discrimination against those who were qualified. She said she had read about discrimination in the newspapers but made no further comment on her information.

In Group E, 78 per cent said they had read about job discrimination in the newspapers; 33 per cent indicated that they had had personal experiences with it; and 33 per cent said they had heard others talk about it. All of this group declared that job and pay discrimination existed in Baton Rouge. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I have read about the local post office case. I feel that if a person is really well qualified, he will be hired. Many Negroes are not well qualified. I have run into pay discrimination.

There is much discrimination in Baton Rouge. Standard Oil will not hire Negroes for anything but common labor. I have tried to get a job but have been turned down. I have read about it and discuss it a lot with Negro leaders.

There is nothing but discrimination. I have read about the Standard Oil situation. Negroes are partly to blame because they work only when they like.

I have read about Standard Oil in the News Leader. Standard Oil hasn't hired one [a negro] for a long time.

There is discrimination in jobs and salary. It is so now at Standard Oil that they won't hire colored at all. I have read about it and heard it from others. I have a friend who was put on a harder job so he would quit before his retirement. When motor scooters were purchased to carry the mail, the Negroes were taken off of the job because they are not allowed to operate any mechanical equipment.

I have read about the Standard Oil situation in the Pittsburgh Courier and the News Leader. My husband works at the water works. He is actually an engineer but is rated an engineer's helper so they can pay him less money. He has been there 40 years.

The members of this college-trained group seemed well informed on the subject although few reported personal experience with job or pay discrimination. Most of their information came from written channels. These not only had information but seemed to have thought about the subject. While they all agreed that discrimination existed, some expressed the opinion that Negroes were

partially responsible because they were not always qualified for these jobs and sometimes did not have the right attitude toward their work. They referred specifically to an element of the lower educated Negroes who, they said, worked only when they felt like it.

The Negroes in this category seemed to possess more detailed information about this topic. In addition to having read about job discrimination in the local Negro newspaper, they had also read about it in at least one national Negro periodical. Some had obtained first-hand information from local Negro leaders and union officials. A higher percentage of these Negroes were in fields where pay discrimination had recently been eliminated, e.g., the school teachers who now get the same as white teachers in comparable positions.

This college-trained group seemed to be well informed and seemed to have thought about their information more objectively than most of the other Negroes.

The 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes got most of their information from hearsay and personal experience except for the higher educated Negroes who relied upon written channels extensively (see Table XIX). As usual, Group A was the least and Group E the best informed. Group D reported no personal contact with job or pay discrimination, but the occupations of those interviewed may have been

TABLE XIX

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING QUESTION SEVEN. DO YOU THINK THAT EMPLOYERS IN BATON ROUGE DISCRIMINATE AGAINST NEGROES IN CERTAIN JOBS?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	20 (2)*	25 (8)	44 (16)	62 (8)	78 (7)	41 (41)
Hearsay	none	34 (11)	39 (14)	38 (5)	33 (3)	33 (33)
Personal ex- perience	50 (5)	22 (7)	25 (9)	none	33 (3)	24 (24)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

responsible for these responses. Groups B and C got most of their information from hearsay although about a fourth of each group had had some personal experience with job and/or pay discrimination.

Nearly all of the 100 Negroes interviewed had some information on the topic as was shown by the low percentage of "uncertain" responses received. One reason may be because the Negro newspapers, both local and national, gave extensive coverage and a prominent place to news on the subject. Another reason may be because local and national groups, Negro and white, were working to eliminate job and pay discrimination and sought to keep the Negroes informed through written and oral channels of communication. A third reason may be that many indicated that they had had personal experience or had talked with others who had had personal experience with job and/or pay discrimination. At any rate, these Negroes seemed much better informed on topics which were covered extensively by Negro channels of communication.

Question Eight.-Do you think that workers should strike in order to get what they want?

When responses were slow some additional questions asked were as follow:

Do you know about the recent strikes in Baton Rouge?

How did you find out about this?

Do you know about the sugar strike at Reserve, La.?

How did you find out about it?

Do you keep up with the news about labor unions and the strikes that take place in other parts of the country?

Do you belong to a union?

This question was about a topic, information on which was dispensed through both oral and written channels of communication. It seemed to follow logically the previous question on job and pay discrimination, a condition which sometimes results in labor troubles.

In Group A, 20 per cent said that someone had read to them from the newspapers about the topic; 60 per cent gave radio as a source; and 10 per cent indicated they had heard others talk about the strikes. Forty per cent said that workers should strike; twenty per cent opposed strikes; and forty per cent had no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

I don't see no sense in it. It makes the cost of living go up more. I heard about the sugar refinery strike on the radio.

I guess it's all right. I heard about the Ford strike on the radio but haven't heard about any local strikes.

I'll tell you my part. If I strike because I don't like what I am getting then I would go hungry. I read about the strikes and unions in the newspapers.

Workers should strike if they can't get what they want. I heard about the sugar refinery strike on the radio and I saw it when I went to New Orleans. I have heard about some big strikes on the radio.

I don't know. It looks like they don't get it even though they strike.

Most of the members of this group got their information through oral channels of communication. None of them had had any personal experience with strikes. They seemed to have thought that striking for them would be futile and they would only be without an income. One informant expressed the opinion that people did not get what they strike for anyway.

In Group B, 31 per cent said they had read about strikes in the newspapers; 50 per cent gave radio as a source of information; 13 per cent, television; and no one gave hearsay as a source. Sixty-two per cent said that workers should strike; thirteen per cent objected to striking; and twenty-five per cent had no opinion. Some of the responses of this group were as follow:

A strike hurts some who don't have money. If you strike and everybody gets justice, it is all right but some get more than others. When we were on strike, we laborers got a five cent raise and the bricklayers got a twenty-five cent raise. I hear the news at our union meetings.

If you can't get it any other way, I am for striking. I used to be against it but have changed my mind. Huey Long taught me that big companies are unfair. I don't read too much about the national situation but notice the pickets when I travel.

If men are under a union and they don't get wages equal to the cost of living, then they should strike. I listen on the radio to the news about strikes but don't read much about them.

I have followed the sugar refinery strike. If a strike means anything, it is a good idea. I ought to strike but I can't.

I don't know whether or not they should strike. I hear on radio all about the people out of work because of strikes. I heard on the radio about the local sugar refinery strike.

I think it is all right to strike. It is wrong for a man to take your job for less money after you have worked fifteen years. I read about the sugar refinery strike and saw pictures of it on television. I follow all of the news about union activities.

Yes, they certainly should. If they are not getting what they deserve, they should strike for more. I have read about the sugar refinery strike. I have cut cane eleven hours for \$1.50.

I don't think they should strike because too many people get killed, I have heard about it on the news.

The members of this group used mostly oral channels with about a third of them having used written channels also. Some of these Negroes were members of labor unions and got first-hand information at work and in their union meetings. Most of these informants indicated they had heard about at least one of the local strikes on radio news programs.

The majority of this group agreed that if workers had the support of a union organization, and if the workers had an opportunity to get what they wanted, they should strike. Some expressed the opinion that striking cost the worker too much and threw too many other people out of work. One informant indicated a fear for the kind of violence that had flared up in the local sugar refinery strike, at which time one man was killed. Some said that workers ought to strike but were in no position to do so, e.g., one minister said he ought to strike.

Most of the members spoke of striking as a method for getting higher wages. Only one respondent gave fair employment practices as a reason for striking. He pointed out that it was unfair for a younger man to take a worker's job for less money after he had worked several years.

Nearly all of the members of this group expressed opinions. Their information came mostly from news heard on white radio stations.

In Group C, 67 per cent said they had read about strikes in the newspapers; 31 per cent gave radio as a source of information; 19 per cent, television; and no one gave hearsay as a source. Sixty-one per cent indicated that workers should strike; twenty-two per cent opposed strikes; and seventeen per cent had no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

Workers should have the right to strike. If it weren't for unions, people wouldn't get what they do. I haven't been in a union but my friends have benefited.

If they live happy and it isn't too long, I guess it is fine. I don't read much about labor unions. I just see the headlines. If I read too much about it, it hurts my heart because it worries me. I read the Bible and that makes me feel good.

It would not be good for me because I have nine head of children and need some little income. A worker should go to his employer and ask for some money and I think that the employer and worker can cooperate. That's the way we do it where I work. If he don't answer me now, he talks to me later and shows me how he can't do it or he works out a little raise. My boss is very nice.

If they do, it doesn't pay unless the colored and white strike together because when colored do it alone, they hire someone else or the police do something. I have read about the sugar refinery strike and seen it on TV.

Where my husband works they have an association and representatives go to the employer to get a raise. I have read about the sugar refinery strike. I saw on TV the women coming to the office.

I am in favor of the worker getting a living wage but I don't like all of this strike stuff.

I don't think striking does much good at places like Standard Oil because they are fair in wages and hours. I have followed the sugar strike in the newspapers and on radio. I belonged to the cook's union.

I don't like it much but we are supposed to have one soon. Sometimes they last so long that you use up most of your savings but we have to do what the union man says. I read about the sugar refinery strike.

Sometimes it seems to be the only way to get what you want. My brother was in the sugar refinery strike. He came home after one man was killed. I read about strikes and listen to news on radio and TV.

I have read and heard about the right-to-work bill. You have the right to work but right to work for what you want. If you won't pay me any wages, I can strike if I have an organization.

I don't know about that. We should have a union for colored women who work. I read about all the sugar refinery strike and keep up with all of the news on radio and in the newspapers.

Strike within reason but give the contractor reasonable time, say 90 days. I hear about the labor troubles on the radio news.

The members of this group used oral more than written channels of communication. A higher percentage of these Negroes had personal contact with strikes. Few of them said they had discussed the topic with anyone else.

Those who favored striking gave a variety of opinions. This group, as did the previous groups, thought that the strike should be organized and backed by a union. Most of them suggested that a strike should be avoided if possible and used only when all other methods fail. Some believed that people should not strike unless they had enough savings to carry them through the strike periods. One interviewee pointed out that Negroes should strike only when whites sought the same benefits because that was their only hope of getting what they asked for. One informant, who seemed to have done considerable reading on

the subject of labor, referred to the right-to-work bill and related it to this subject by saying that if the employer would not pay the employee what he asked for, the employee had the privilege of quitting.

Those who were against striking indicated that they had employers they could go to and ask for a raise. One respondent explained how he had held conferences with his superior and seemed satisfied even when he did not get a raise. He pointed out that he could not afford to strike because he "had nine head of children." Many were against striking because they said they could not afford to go even a week without a pay check. Others who were against striking were those who had jobs which paid salaries above that received by most Negroes in this educational category.

Most of these Negroes seemed to have considerable information on this topic and some indicated they had done some thinking about this information. One female respondent said that she thought Negro women should have a union in order to be able to get the pay they deserved. Another credited unions with all of the gains made by the working man. Even though these Negroes had more information than the two previous groups, they still viewed striking primarily as a means for getting more money.

In Group D, 92 per cent gave newspapers as a source of information; 28 per cent, radio; and 38 per cent,

television. Fifty-four per cent favored striking; 31 per cent opposed it; and 15 per cent had no opinion. Some of the responses received from the members of this group were as follow:

A man loses money while on strike. I read about the sugar refinery strike. I don't follow the news on national labor troubles, just local.

If they are properly organized. I have read about local truck and refinery strikes. I don't read much about the national situation.

I never did believe in striking. I believe things should be worked out in discussion. I follow labor activities closely on radio, TV, and in the newspapers. I also get the union paper where I work.

I don't think they should. However, the colored are the minority in our union so we have to do what the white say to do. I have read about the sugar refinery strike and I keep up with all of the union activities by reading the union newspapers.

Some can't afford to and for the small man it is better not to strike. The big ones are all right. When you pay a high price to belong to a labor union, you can afford to.

The members of this group relied mostly on written channels. Nearly all of the men in this group were members of labor unions and got some of their information from their union newspapers. About a third of these Negroes also followed news of this subject on radio and television.

As was the case with members of the two previous groups, most of those who favored striking said that the strikes should be organized and backed by a union. These people also spoke of a strike as a means to get an increase in pay and said nothing about any other work benefits. Many favored striking only as a last resort.

Those who opposed striking gave a variety of reasons. One respondent said that the little man could not afford to strike and another insisted that everything should be worked out in discussions. Some who opposed striking admitted that they usually had to do as the majority ruled and in most cases this majority meant the white workers.

Nearly all of the members of this group seemed to have considerable information but they did not show the interest expressed by the members of the previous group.

In Group E, 89 per cent said they read about strikes in the newspapers; 56 per cent gave radio as a source of information; and 33 per cent, television. Seventy-eight per cent favored striking and 22 per cent opposed it.

Some of the responses received were as follow:

I am against striking. I think we should have discussions and arbitrations. You lose more than you gain. I have read some and listen to the news on radio.

I think striking is a good idea. I read a novel, The American, which was about people striking. I read extensively on the subject.

I don't like it unless that's the only way they can get what they want. I have read about the local strikes and my husband follows the union news.

I don't think it's good but it gets results. It sometimes seems the only way.

Yes, they should. I have read about the sugar refinery strike. I don't pay much attention to other news about unions.

The college-trained group received most of their information from written channels although more than half of them used oral channels also. In addition to news channels already mentioned, one informant indicated she had also read a novel on the subject.

Most of those who favored strikes suggested that other methods of obtaining benefits should be tried first. Some indicated that poor people could not endure a long strike but that some benefits could be derived from a well planned strike. Those who opposed strikes insisted that labor and management should settle their differences through arbitration.

These college-trained Negroes seemed no better informed than either Groups C or D, on this topic. They gave evidence of having been more objective in their consideration of it.

The 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes used oral more than written channels of communication for their information on this topic (see Table XX). The higher the

TABLE XX

A SUMMARY OF SOME CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES
FOR ANSWERING QUESTION EIGHT. DO YOU THINK THAT WORKERS SHOULD STRIKE
IN ORDER TO GET WHAT THEY WANT?

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling %	1 thru 4 yrs. %	5 thru 8 yrs. %	9 thru 12 yrs. %	13 yrs. and over %	Totals %
Newspapers	20 (2) *	31 (10)	67 (24)	92 (12)	89 (8)	56 (56)
Radio	60 (6)	50 (16)	31 (11)	38 (5)	56 (5)	43 (43)
Television	None	13 (4)	19 (7)	38 (5)	33 (3)	19 (19)

*The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated the use of a particular channel.

educational level of these Negroes the more they used the written channels. Those with no formal education relied almost altogether on oral channels.

These 100 Negroes received most of their information from white newspapers and radio and television stations because the Negro newspapers and radio station carried little news about this topic unless some issue of race relations were involved. A few of the Negro editorial pages contained columns which discussed labor and labor problems.

As was the case with the previous seven questions, Group A was the least and Group E the best informed although Groups C and D nearly equaled Group E on this topic. Nearly all of those who favored strikes did so because, as they indicated, it was the only way the worker could get what he deserved. These Negroes expressed the opinion that workers should strike only when backed by a union. Most of those who opposed strikes declared that the benefits derived from striking could never make up for what the worker lost during the strike. All of these Negroes spoke of strikes in terms of money benefits and said almost nothing about other types of benefits.

Summary

1. The Negroes interviewed seemed to have had more information about those topics which had been carried by the Negro newspapers and magazines and which appeared to be of more interest to Negroes than whites.

2. These 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes used oral more than written channels of communication. The lowest educated Negroes depended almost exclusively on oral while the highest educated used mostly written channels.

3. All of the Negroes interviewed relied heavily on radio news programs for their information.

4. Only the highest educated Negroes did serious reading of editorials, professional magazines, or non-fiction books.

5. The 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes used a variety of oral channels of communication including: radio, television, ministers, white employers and neighbors, and Negro relatives and friends. Radio and television seemed to be the most important of these channels.

6. Many Negroes, especially in the lower educational categories, showed a lack of understanding of the information they had and interpreted their information in the light of superstitions or unusual religious beliefs.

7. Some opinions seemed to have been based on experience. If the experience had been pleasant, the

opinion was favorable; and if the experience had been unpleasant, usually the opinion was unfavorable.

8. On every question asked, those in the lowest educational category seemed to be the poorest informed and those in the highest educational category, the best informed.

9. Those in the "4 through 8 years of schooling" category seemed to be the most enthusiastic about answering while those in the high school trained category, the least interested.

The answers to these questions show that the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes employed a variety of channels of communication for their information. Many seemed to base their opinions on religious beliefs or mythical sources rather than on a careful analysis of their information.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to discover and to analyze the channels of communication used by 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes. After analyzing the data gathered in the interviews, certain summary statements seem justified.

1. The channels of communication used by all 100 Negroes studied seemed to vary according to educational level. The higher the level of education, the more written channels were employed and the lower the level of education, the more oral ones were used. Those who could not read depended altogether on oral means of getting information. What written information they possessed had been read and explained to them by someone else.

2. Three-fourths of the Negroes interviewed read at least one white and one Negro newspaper and one third read at least one white and one Negro magazine. Among Negroes with at least one year of high school, ninety-five per cent read at least one white and one Negro magazine.

3. Much of the material featured by the Negro newspapers and magazines seemed to fall under two general categories, sensational and ego-building. The sensational

material includes stories of crime, domestic troubles, discrimination incidents, and some race problems. The ego-building information embraces accounts of famous Negro athletes and entertainers, achievements made by Negroes in the fields of religion, politics, business, and education. In addition, the Negro channels carry information designed to help the Negro become a better citizen, improve his standard of living, and encourage him to work harder to achieve the "freedom he says he wants."

4. The Negro churches seem to reach more of the Negroes interviewed than any of the oral channels. Ninety-four per cent of the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes said that they attended church. Two-thirds of these attended Baptist churches.

5. The Negro minister seems to be a key figure because he is called upon to give advice to his people about a variety of subjects.

6. Nearly three-fourths of the Negroes interviewed listened to at least one white radio station and station WXOK. Station WXOK designs its programs to appeal to Negro listeners while the white radio and television stations plan their programs with little or no consideration for Negro listeners.

7. With the exception of the college-trained Negroes, only a small percentage of the Negroes studied were active in service or professional organizations.

8. The use of hearsay as a means of getting information was evident but the extent to which it was employed was difficult to determine. Hearsay seemed to be utilized more by the Negroes in the lower educational categories than by those in the higher educational categories. The Negroes who worked as domestic employees seemed to get considerable information through hearsay.

9. The 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes seemed to have obtained most of their information for answering the general questions from newspapers, radio, television, and hearsay (see Table XXI). The information in Table XXI seems to indicate that more of the information reached these Negroes through oral than written channels of communication. In the higher educational categories more written than oral channels were used.

10. In this study the Negroes seemed to have more information about topics which had been discussed at length through Negro channels of communication such as Negro newspapers, magazines, and churches.

11. Religion seemed to play an important role in moulding the opinions which many of these Negroes expressed about the eight topics. Some of the answers given to every question asked seemed to have been influenced by religious beliefs. This was true of those Negroes in the lower educational categories but was not true in the two top educational categories.

TABLE XXI

A SUMMARY OF SOME OF THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY THE 100 URBAN BATON ROUGE NEGROES FOR ANSWERING EIGHT GENERAL QUESTIONS

CHANNELS USED	No Schooling	1 thru 4 yrs.	5 thru 8 yrs.	9 thru 12 yrs.	13 yrs. and over	Totals
	% [*]	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers	18 (14)**	29 (76)	55 (157)	65 (68)	86 (62)	47 (377)
Radio	40 (32)	43 (109)	30 (115)	36 (38)	38 (27)	41 (325)
Television	8 (6)	12 (30)	15 (64)	32 (33)	36 (26)	20 (156)
Hearsay	10 (8)	10 (26)	6 (22)	12 (12)	15 (11)	10 (79)

*The total responses possible when answering eight general questions by the members of each educational category were used as bases for computing the percentages. These bases were as follow: no schooling, 80; 1 thru 4 yrs., 256; 5 thru 8 yrs., 288; 9 thru 12 yrs., 104; 13 yrs. and over, 72; and totals, 800. These bases were computed by multiplying the number in each educational category by the number of questions (8).

**The numbers in parentheses represent the number in each educational category who indicated this channel as a means of getting information about one or more of the eight general questions.

12. Many of the Negroes interviewed seemed to think of the information they had in terms of economic benefits, that is, how much will this cost me? or how much will this net me? For example, when answering Question One (Where do you look for information about things you want to buy?), many of the Negroes said that they bought where they could get the best buy or where they could get credit. When answering Question Four (What do you think of Eisenhower as President?), some answered in terms of their own or the country's prosperity. Many of the answers to Questions Seven (Do you think that employers in Baton Rouge discriminate against Negroes in certain jobs?) and Eight (Do you think that workers should strike in order to get what they want?), seemed to indicate that economic security was the primary interest of these Negroes.

13. Few of the Negroes seemed to have enough understanding of the means by which information is channeled to receivers to offer any significant constructive suggestions for improving the channels of communication. Some of the Negroes made such comments as the following: white newspapers and magazines should feature news about Negroes; Negro newspapers and magazines should feature news about whites; there should not be separate Negro and white newspapers and magazines; ministers should teach more; ministers should be better trained; and politicians should not talk about the other candidates. However,

most of the Negroes said, "I don't know how they could be improved but I guess they could," or "I get plenty of news from the radio." Even the Negroes in the highest educational categories had few constructive suggestions but many of them did condemn the Negro channels of communication as being "too radical and of poor quality."

An analysis of the channels employed by the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes seems to indicate that these Negroes have few, if any, direct lines of communication. The evidence shows that information which eventually reaches these Negroes passes through many filter points making it nearly impossible for these Negroes to get an uninterrupted and unshaded flow of information. Much information passes along channels which have biased sub-stations, e.g., many of the white writers or speakers are biased in their communications about Negroes while many Negro writers and speakers are equally biased when giving their views about whites. The channels carrying information of primary interest to Negroes seem to be more intent in their crusade for the "Negro cause" than in presenting a comprehensive coverage of news events. In other words, it seems difficult for the 100 Negroes investigated to obtain information through clear, free flowing channels of communication.

Not only is the acquisition of information made difficult by the barriers to communication but the

dispensing of information is affected also. Most of the local white channels seem reluctant to carry views expressed by Negroes and the Negro channels circulate mostly among the Negroes themselves. The local Negro newspaper and radio station are owned and managed by whites, certainly an important filter point. This leaves the Negro church as the chief place where Negroes can express their views and desires, both religious and secular. Probably only a small amount of the opinions expressed in the Negro churches ever reaches the intended receivers, that is, the white community leaders. What information does reach these community leaders does so through the Negro minister who may add to, delete, or alter the information according to his own beliefs, or the reactions of the white leaders. At any rate, no clear channel of communication was discovered through which the Negroes studied could express their opinions and make known their wishes to the white community leaders.

The data seem to indicate that if one wanted to get information to the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes, he would have to employ a combination of channels including radio station WXOK, the State Times and News Leader newspapers, and the Negro churches. No one of these means of carrying information reaches all of the Negroes interviewed. Therefore, even though the same message may start

along each of the four channels listed, it is not likely to be the same when it reaches its destination. The filter points which tend to alter the meaning of the information vary with the channels and the Negroes will probably get different versions of the same message.

This study has attempted to discover at least some of the channels of communication used by a small sample of urban Negroes and to reveal something of how these channels were employed by members of different educational levels of this sample. The implications are that so far as the 100 urban Baton Rouge Negroes are concerned, free flowing channels of communication do not exist. The evidence has been presented, the analyses made, and the conclusions drawn recognizing that until other similar studies have been made among other Negro groups, conclusions cannot be made about Negroes in general.

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Interview with John Ferguson, September 26, 1955.

Interview with T. J. Jamison, January 25, 1956.

Interview with Don Hallman, September 26, 1955.

Interview with Thomas McGuire, October 10, 1955.

Interview with Marshall Nolan, August 8, 1955.

APPENDIX

I N T E R V I E W G U I D E

Date:

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Address:

Length of residence
in Baton Rouge:

No. of years completed in school:

Occupation:

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Do you attend church?

Where:

Minister's name:

What type sermons does he preach?

Do you belong to a lodge? Name and type of meetings held:

Other organizations: Names and types of meetings:

INFORMATION SOURCES

Newspapers: White:

Negro:

What parts do you read regularly?

Magazines: White:

Negro:

What do you like to read in these?

Books:

**Do you have a telephone? Radio? What stations do you
listen to?**

What programs do you prefer? Why?

**Do you have a television set? What programs do you prefer?
Why?**

GENERAL QUESTIONS

Where do you look for information about things to buy?
e.g., clothes, food, appliances, cars, cigarettes,
insurance, etc.

What do you think about the new polio shots? Probe to
determine where the information was obtained.

Do you think that it should be against the law to belong
to the Communist Party? Probe to find out where the
information about communism was obtained.

What do you think of Eisenhower as president? Probe to find out where the information was obtained.

Do you follow sports? Ask questions about outstanding Negro and white athletes and find out where the information was obtained.

What do you understand the recent Supreme court decision regarding school segregation to mean? Probe to find out where this information was obtained.

Do you think that employers in Baton Rouge discriminate against Negroes in certain jobs? Cite recent local cases of discrimination and any prominent national ones and try to determine where the information was obtained.

Do you think that workers should strike in order to get what they want? Cite examples and try to determine where the information was obtained.

How do you think the newspapers, radio programs (news), television (news), political speeches, sermons, etc., could be improved?

General evaluation of the interview.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Fred Tewell was born in Rush County, Indiana, on March 25, 1921. He received his elementary education at Elizavilles Grammar School and his high school training at Lebanon High School in Indiana.

He did his undergraduate college work at DePauw University, where he received his B. A. degree with a major in speech, June, 1943. Upon induction in June, 1943, he spent forty months in the army. Part of this time was spent in entertainment work at the Ernie Pyle Theater in Tokyo, Japan. During the school year 1946-1947, he taught speech at DePauw University. He attended Louisiana State University during the 1947-1948, 1948-1949, 1954-1955, and 1955-1956 sessions and during the summer sessions of 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1953, and 1954. During the 1948-1949 session he was employed as speech correctionist for Iberville Parish, Louisiana. At the end of the 1948-1949 session he received a Master's degree.

During the 1949-1950 school year, he was a member of the faculty at George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee. Since September, 1950, he has been employed as Associate Professor of Speech at Midwestern University,

Wichita Falls, Texas. In September, 1954 he was granted a two-year leave of absence to study at Louisiana State University.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT


Candidate: Fred Towell

Major Field: Speech

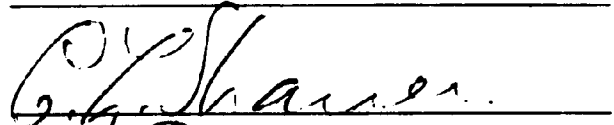
Title of Thesis: A STUDY OF THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY
ONE HUNDRED NEGROES IN BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

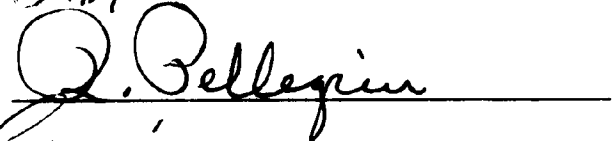
Approved:

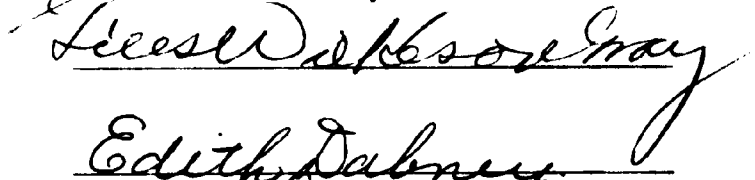

Major Professor and Chairman


Dean of the Graduate School

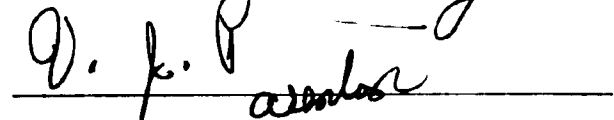
EXAMINING COMMITTEE:











Date of Examination:

May 4, 1956